DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

The roles of cultural values in landscape management valuing the 'more-than-visual' in Highland Scotland

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The roles of cultural values in landscape management:

valuing the ‘more-than-visual’ in Highland Scotland

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Author note

Declaration

I confirm that I am the author of this thesis and that I have consulted all the references cited in it. The thesis is a record of work that I have done and has not been previously accepted for a higher degree.

……Amy Elizabeth Holden

I confirm that the conditions of the relevant Ordinance and Regulations have been fulfilled in relation to this thesis.

……Dr F. M. Smith

Abstract

There have been calls within landscape (and broader environmental) policy for the greater incorporation of cultural values and stakeholder participation. This, however, has often been critiqued within the academic literature as being difficult to achieve in practice. Concurrently, academic research around 'landscape' has seen an emergence of exploring more embodied, experiential and 'more-than-visual' ways of knowing, challenging the more traditional concept of 'landscape' as a 'way of seeing' and a cultural product. This research explored the multiple ways that people value landscapes using walking interviews, arts-based methods and key-informant interviews (with local and national landscape managers). It explored the potential of visual and 'more-than-visual' methods to both engage and articulate with more subjective, emotional and embodied encounters with landscapes. This was then used to explore the potential and challenges of adopting cultural and more participative approaches to landscape management. After an initial analysis of the data gathered through the methods, this was then used as part of feedback events within the two case study areas to allow the participants of the research and the broader local community to engage with the work.

This research argues that 'landscape' as a concept, when approached from a 'more-than-visual' perspective, highlighted that the inherently visual concept is bound up within a much broader sensory immersion within the landscape. The research demonstrated the complex and interconnected relationship between people and the landscape through the concept of 'dwelling' emphasising the lived-in, everyday encounters with landscape. This relationship is tied up within past individual experiences, shared social and cultural history as well as the material landscape itself arguing for a more 'hybrid' understanding of people and landscape. Furthermore, the research highlighted both the potential and challenges of participative approaches with multiple landscape stakeholders and challenges the 'homogenous' perspective of 'community' within management rhetoric. There is an argument for more partnership working between multiple stakeholders to generate trust and dialogue. It argues for the creation of spaces within which the more politically sensitive issues in relation to landscape management can be discussed and the potential for solutions to be created.

1 Introduction

> ‘Starting’s never easy. You feel you need a couple of miles inside you before you’ve really begun, before any quality of movement (mental and physical) is established. You need to climb a rise, stop, turn around and breathe deeply, take in the view – the first, confirmatory view – maybe look at the map, again. And then on you go …’ (Lorimer & Wylie 2010: 6).

This research explores the multiple ways in which people encountered and experienced the landscapes in which they lived, worked and/or visited with the aim of understanding how more intangible ‘values’ of landscape could be incorporated within landscape management. The research approached landscape management from a specifically cultural values perspective in order to identify how people explored their own relationship with the landscape and how broader cultural processes may have become embedded within how people understand and experience landscapes. The research was conducted in Applecross and Assynt in the north-west Highlands of Scotland, an area where the landscapes are nationally and internationally recognised for their ‘special’ and ‘scenic’ qualities. This research builds on academic literature relating to the concept of ‘landscape’ in particular challenging the more visual traditions to the concept and exploring the ‘more-than-visual’ and embodied responses to landscapes. In adopting a ‘more-than-visual’ approach, whereby the visual and the embodied/experiential qualities of landscape are equally investigated this research explores the potential of walking interviews, arts-based methods, key informant interviews and feedback events to be used as a mixed methodology through which to critically examine cultural value. These methods aimed to explore and challenge the participants’ understandings of ‘landscape’ and explore the potential of this qualitative approach to inform landscape management. To help contextualise these very individual responses, key-informant interviews with landscape managers (both local and national organisations) were undertaken to understand the policy background and current practices adopted to help facilitate the incorporation of cultural values and stakeholder engagement. The overall aim of this research, therefore, is to explore the cultural values of landscapes using creative methodologies and to examine critically the ways in which these values might be incorporated within broader landscape management practices.

This introduction chapter aims to metaphorically get ‘a couple of miles inside’ by providing an overview and context to the research. The chapter begins by introducing the thesis (and research) as a whole, positioning the research conceptually (section 1.1)

and within current landscape policy and management practice dialogue (section 1.2). This is then followed by an introduction to the case study areas (section 1.3). The research is then positioned methodologically (section1.4) before outlining the overall research aim and research questions (section 1.5). The chapter ends by outlining the structure of the thesis (section 1.6).

1.1 Positioning the research conceptually: 'landscape', 'culture' and 'hybridity'

Wylie (2007: 1) and Rose & Wylie (2006: 475) state that '[l]andscape is tension.' This is broken down into four tensions, proximity/distance, eye/land, sensuous immersion/detached observation and nature/culture. Such dualisms bring into focus the question as to whether people see themselves as being part of and living within the landscape or whether landscapes are viewed from a distance, the viewer being somehow separate from and disembodied in relation to the landscape. These tensions will be used throughout the thesis to help challenge landscape norms found within landscape policy and management discourses. Furthermore, the research will focus on a further challenge that arises through exploring these dualisms further, that landscapes can be both individually experienced and understood but also a collective understanding through shared experiences, history and cultural norms of landscape[1].

Traditional landscape research primarily focussed on visual approaches to landscape and how representations of landscape within landscape art could provide a tool through which to explore social relations and interactions with landscape at the time (Daniels & Cosgrove 1988). Wylie (2003; 2006; 2007) argues that there is a 'new cultural turn' within landscape research through the exploration of more intangible and experiential approaches to landscape. This recent development takes a phenomenological and embodied approach which goes beyond landscapes as representative to an entanglement of self, body and landscape (Merriman *et al.* 2008; Tolia-Kelly 2007a; Wylie 2007; Tilley & Bennett 2004; Ingold 2000). As such, such a perspective goes beyond a purely visual and aesthetic landscape to one of 'being-in-the-landscape' (Cloke & Jones 2001; Lorimer & Wylie 2010) and so explores more emotional and experiential qualities (Anderson & Smith 2001; Jones 2005; Wylie 2007). This research therefore engages with both the visual and experiential qualities, seeking to draw out a 'more-than-visual' exploration of landscape to engage with how these inform everyday perceptions of

[1] These tensions will be drawn out further in chapter 2 and particularly in chapters 5 to 8 in relation to how research participants discussed these tensions.

landscapes. This research will thus argue that the 'visual' is one of a range of experiential engagements with 'landscape' (Ingold 2006).

Watts (2005: 142) has argued that the concepts of 'nature' and 'culture' are often assumed to be opposite but on closer examination are 'entangled'. Whatmore (2002: 162) articulates this as a need for a more hybrid understanding of the two concepts one which explores 'the messy attachments, skills and intensities of differently embodied lives whose everyday conduct exceeds and perverts the designs of parliaments, corporations and laboratories.' Likewise, Scazzosi (2004: 337) argues that the concept of 'landscape' is 'actually a polysemic term, where different disciplinary elaborations meet, collide and compare'. This understanding of landscape reflects on the development that landscapes cannot – and argued by Scazzosi should not – be distinguished between being 'cultural' or 'natural' as all landscapes can be read through these different ontological lenses and meanings. This research, therefore, explores the potential of a more 'hybrid' understanding of 'nature' and 'culture' alongside the 'more-than-visual' approach outlined above. These processes will then be situated socially to consider questions of power relations within the landscape management process, including with issues around ownership.

Alongside the tensions outlined above there is also one between culture as lived experience and culture as spectacle (Macdonald 2002 and Macdonald 2008). The role of 'culture' in relation to the concept of 'landscape' has become an increasing area of interest as highlighted above with the changing approaches to defining landscape. To take the more embodied approach further, there is an acknowledgement of the role of people – both past and present – in shaping a landscape. As Ingold (2000: 189) argues, landscapes are 'an enduring record of – and testimony to – the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it and in so doing, have left there something of themselves'. Yet caution is needed to not consider 'culture' as something that is purely static or 'heritage' but something that evolves and reflects contemporary cultures. The research will therefore, reflect on the concept of the 'carrying stream' (Mackenzie 2010: 164) in relation to 'culture'. Mackenzie cites MacPhail (2006: 11) that culture is like a burn[2] in that it is not something that is passed on intact but is 'reworked, reformed and reinvented in each generation and in each community across time and space – centuries and geographies.' Wylie (2012: 2) similarly warns of a tension that can arise through

[2] A Scottish term for a small stream.

writing of and about landscape that they 'inherit a romantic legacy in which notions of land and life existing in reciprocal harmony play a significant, if contested part.' This research addresses these critiques through a focus on social as well as cultural and embodied experiences, deliberately trying to engage with questions of power relations and the practical challenges of how such debates might be of relevance in landscape management.

This research aims to be policy relevant and has been informed by current landscape policy alongside these conceptual challenges. Through exploring a more experiential and emotional response to landscape this research may in turn provide a means through which to address the challenge by Anderson & Smith (2001:8) for policy relevant research to adopt emotions as a way of knowing and to go beyond purely 'visual, textual and linguistic domains.' There remains a challenge, however, when undertaking a more qualitative approach, that the outcomes from the research can then be used in a meaningful way by landscape managers. The research will, however, explore the parallels that exist between academic writing and policy discourses in relation to 'landscape' and 'culture' – as well as the divisions between them. The following section now outlines the policy perspective of this research and broadly outlines the current challenges that can be drawn from the policy.

1.2 Positioning the research in landscape policy: culture, values and participation

Alongside the conceptual debates around 'landscape' outlined above are parallel discussions within policy documents and policy relevant research in relation to landscape and the environment more broadly. It is the purpose of this research to identify gaps in the practice of policy perspectives in relation to landscape management, where, as identified by Stephenson (2008: 127) 'there may be shortcomings in the identification of landscapes' cultural significance, and [where] better attention should be paid to how sustain landscape's contribution to cultural identity and diversity.' The research uses conceptual and methodological insight to try and address these gaps.

This research draws on the landscape policy rhetoric within Scotland and particularly draws on the European Landscape Convention (ELC) and the Scottish Land Use Strategy (LUS) to highlight different scales of policy rhetoric. The ELC highlights a broader European level position on landscape and landscape management policy. It was adopted in 2000, came into force in 2004 (Council of Europe 2014) and specifically

ratified in the UK in 2006. In comparison the LUS is a Scottish national policy on 'land' more broadly though does incorporate the use of the term 'landscape'. Both policies will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 3 where the tensions that have arisen through the language adopted by both policies will be drawn out. For the purposes of this chapter the key issues within both policies in relation to this research will now be outlined.

Both the ELC and LUS introduce ideas of larger scale management, value and stakeholder participation. They encourage greater incorporation of people within the management of landscape through greater participation and a desire to acknowledge the role of people – both past and present – in the formation of the landscape. The European Landscape Convention 'promotes the protection, management and planning of European landscapes and organises European co-operation on landscape issues' (Council of Europe 2011). The convention highlights the importance of all types of landscape, 'be it ordinary or outstanding, urban or rural, on land or in water' (*ibid*.). The Scottish Government have stated that 'the Convention provides an important opportunity to take stock of current landscape practice and effort, and identify where this needs to be improved' but believe that current legislation provides the means to meet the obligations and objectives set out by the ELC (Scottish Government 2009). The Land Use Strategy is the most recent development of land use legislation in Scotland which was laid before the parliament in March 2011 (Scottish Government 2011). It is not specific policy in response to the implementation of the ELC but provides a means through which the Scottish Government is seeking to meet the objectives of the ELC.

Both the ELC and the LUS are examples of the ways that policy in relation to the environment, ecosystems, land use and/or landscape has undergone a 'shift' in the rhetoric with greater emphasis being placed on people and the incorporation of people within the development and implementation of policy (Sevenant & Antrop 2010; Jones 2007; Scott 2011). Traditionally the conservation of landscapes has 'relied on designating 'special' areas, and attempting to protect and enhance them through a combination of planning control, grant aid and countryside management' (Powell *et al.* 2002: 279). The more participative and cultural rhetoric of more recent policy, therefore, may challenge the management practices that are currently adopted but that are based on past policy approaches that are dominated by 'a particular focus on material phenomena (vegetation, historic features, etc.) and aesthetics,' (Stephenson

2008: 128). For example, landscape designations are put in place to protect areas of special importance, such as National Scenic Areas and Wild Land. This research thus aims to focus in particular on exploring the diverse values that people hold for the landscape, giving particular attention to the more intangible values. These intangible values are often far harder to identify and translate into policy and practice and consequently, 'much easier to overlook or dismiss, often being lumped together as 'associative' or 'spiritual',' (Stephenson 2008: 137). Parallels can be drawn with the argument by Wylie (2012) outlined above with the potential of notions and writings of landscape being 'romantic'. Consequently, this research aims to identify the everyday lived practices within landscape in order to critically explore participants' values of landscape and how this may have influenced perceptions of landscape management.

This brief outline of current landscape management policy and practice has drawn out the main issues and potential challenges that may arise through more inclusive and participative approaches. Furthermore, the emphasis being placed on cultural values and drawing out the relationship between people and landscape parallels with the previous section's discussion on the changing approach to 'landscape' as a concept. The following section focusses on why Scotland, specifically the Highlands of Scotland, was chosen to explore these challenges.

1.2.1 Why Scotland? Landscape, land and policy in Scotland

The Scottish Government has called for a more holistic approach to a sustainable future and so, in response to this, 5 Strategic Objectives – 'Wealthier and Fairer', 'Smarter', 'Healthier', 'Safer and Stronger' and 'Greener' have been created in order to achieve such sustainable development (Scottish Government 2014b). In 2007, with the need to implement the European Landscape Convention within policy the Scottish Landscape Forum[3] was formed. It recognised that the Scottish landscape is central to future sustainable development of Scotland - which will assist in fulfilling the 'Greener Scotland' objective. Yet despite this, they argue, 'landscape' can often be undervalued

[3] The Scottish Landscape Forum was 'a group of organisations interested in caring for Scotland's landscape' (Scottish Natural Heritage 2012) established by Scottish Natural Heritage and the Scottish Government. The group was tasked with 'facilitating discussion, preparing advice and promoting action for the better care of Scotland's landscape,' (The Scottish Landscape Forum 2010). The group submitted a report entitled 'Scotland's Living Landscapes - Places for People' (Scottish Landscape Forum 2007) which outlined the implementation of the ELC throughout Scotland. The group was 'wound up' in December 2008 (Scottish Natural Heritage 2012).

or subsumed by wider 'environmental' or 'cultural' heritage agendas (Scottish Landscape Forum 2007). The Scottish Landscape Forum (SLF) further stated:

> 'A clearer understanding and expression of landscape values, and the benefits landscape brings society, is needed to ensure that Scotland's landscape continues to make, and indeed increases, its contribution to national life' (*ibid.*: 11).

Yet such a statement still requires an understanding of the *values* placed on any landscape, whether it is a landscape of 'special' value or a derelict landscape within a town or city. Similarly there have been recent studies (Scott 2014; Phillips *et al.* 2014) that indicate that policies such as the ELC and LUS are not being explicitly used and incorporated within management practice. This research, therefore, is highly timely through exploring the principles that these policies propose and the extent to which the methods that will be adopted for this research could help to explore them. It also addresses the relatively limited approach to 'cultural value' utilised in the implementation of policy in practice.

The incorporation of people has a dual meaning both in terms of the environment benefitting people but also simultaneously that the responsibility for the management of the environment should be supported by society as a whole. There is a growing interest therefore in the participation of 'stakeholders' – meaning those individuals and/or groups who have an interest in the area[4] – within the development and implementation of environmental policy and management. The call for greater participation raises issues around who would be considered as stakeholders and in turn brings in to focus the issue of governance. The rhetoric within Scotland – though also reflected in international policy – places emphasis on more locally-based management and participation. Consequently it could be argued that the governance (and so in turn the responsibility) of landscapes management is being placed within local areas, whether categorised as 'communities of interest' or 'communities of place' (Swanwick *et al.* 2002). This will be explored fully in chapter 3, however, it is worth highlighting now the potential challenges of such a classification.

Within Scotland there are a number of different stakeholders from government organisations to local action groups. Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH) is a government organisation that develops and implements environmental policy across Scotland. Other

[4] A more in-depth discussion and definition of who 'stakeholders' are is provided in Chapter 3.

government organisations include Forestry Commission Scotland who are also involved with the implementation of environmental management. Their emphasis, however, is placed on the protection of woodlands and forests of Scotland. It is not only government organisations that are involved with the management of the environment but also national charities such as Scottish Wildlife Trust, RSPB, National Trust for Scotland, Reforesting Scotland; locally-based charities and partnerships such as the Applecross Landscape Partnership Scheme (ALPS) and the Coigach and Assynt Living Landscape (CALL, also a landscape partnership scheme); as well as diverse land owners whether that be private owners represented in a body such as Scottish Land and Estates (Scottish estate landowners) or social forms of ownership such as Community Land Trusts. These highlight only a few of the 'group' stakeholders that could (and do) contribute to the management of landscapes within Scotland. There are also the number of individuals within these groups that may have their own values, opinions and ideas that may not only conflict with other 'groups' but also within their own 'group'. The potential and the possible tensions that may arise through greater stakeholder participation within management are addressed within the thesis.

Scotland – the Highlands in particular – provides an interesting case study through which to explore landscape management due to the different patterns of historical and contemporary ownership that have influenced the development of the landscapes. The large Highland estates known today are the product of a 'new socio-economic order' that occurred in the aftermath of the battle of Culloden[5] and the emergence of the Industrial Revolution (MacLean 1986: 5). It was during this time that large sheep farms and then later deer parks became more profitable than keeping tenant farmers on the land (*ibid*.). Though considered at the time as an act of 'improvement for the landscapes', this lead to 'The Clearances' whereby farmers and their families were removed from the more fertile land and moved either to the more marginal and infertile lands along the coastline, migrated to cities or emigrated (*ibid*.). Consequently, the question of land and landscape has remained an emotive, social, cultural and political issue within Scotland. The 'more-than-visual' approach adopted for this research deliberately tries to interrogate these kinds of issues. Through engaging with socio-economic/power relations within landscape management the research aimed to avoid an over-aesthetic and individualised approach to landscape.

[5] The battle of Culloden was the defeat of the Highland Jacobite army by government forces in 1746. This has been marked as an event that saw the final subjugation of clan society in Scotland (Buchanan 1986).

The rise of community land ownership primarily since the early 1990s (Skerratt 2011; 2013) has brought the question of land ownership back to the fore in relation to landscape policy in Scotland. In 2014 a document was produced outlining the potential for Land Reform, in particular, reflecting on the relationship between ownership and land use:

> 'The relationship between the land and the people of Scotland is fundamental to the wellbeing, economic success, environmental sustainability and social justice of the country' (Land Reform Review Group 2014: 5).

Ownership is not central to this research, however, with the maturing of Community Land Trusts (Skerratt 2013; 2011; Warren & McKee 2011) and the remaining prevalence private estates still remaining (Glass *et al.* 2013c; Woolvin 2013) this may provide different perspectives on how landscapes are valued as well as insight into how these landscapes are managed. Likewise, the capacity for greater engagement under different ownership structures may be influenced due to different power structures (Glass *et al.* 2013b; Glass *et al.* 2013c; Skerratt 2013; Skerratt 2011; Warren & McKee 2011; Woolvin 2013). The following section now introduces the two case studies of the research.

1.3 Introducing the case study areas: Applecross peninsula and Assynt

The research adopts a case study approach (Taylor 2013; Yin 2009). This section provides a more ethnographic introduction to the case study areas, Applecross and Assynt. An ethnographic approach is taken to reflect on Crang & Cook (2007: 8-9) who argue that the researcher is 'equally positioned, interconnected and involved in the changing social and cultural relations under study' as the researched. Furthermore, they argue that research is an embodied process and therefore the 'researcher' is not someone that is both mentally and physically detached from who and what is being researched. This section therefore aims to introduce the case study areas as I experienced them.

Prior to introducing the two areas individually, due to them both being located in the north-west Highlands of Scotland (Figure 1-1), it is beginning by outlining their shared characteristics and histories. Both have historically been under private ownership with areas of crofting townships. Areas that have had this pattern of ownership are typically characterised by large areas of heather moorland maintained to support deer populations. Alongside this are small townships or settlements of houses and/or crofts.

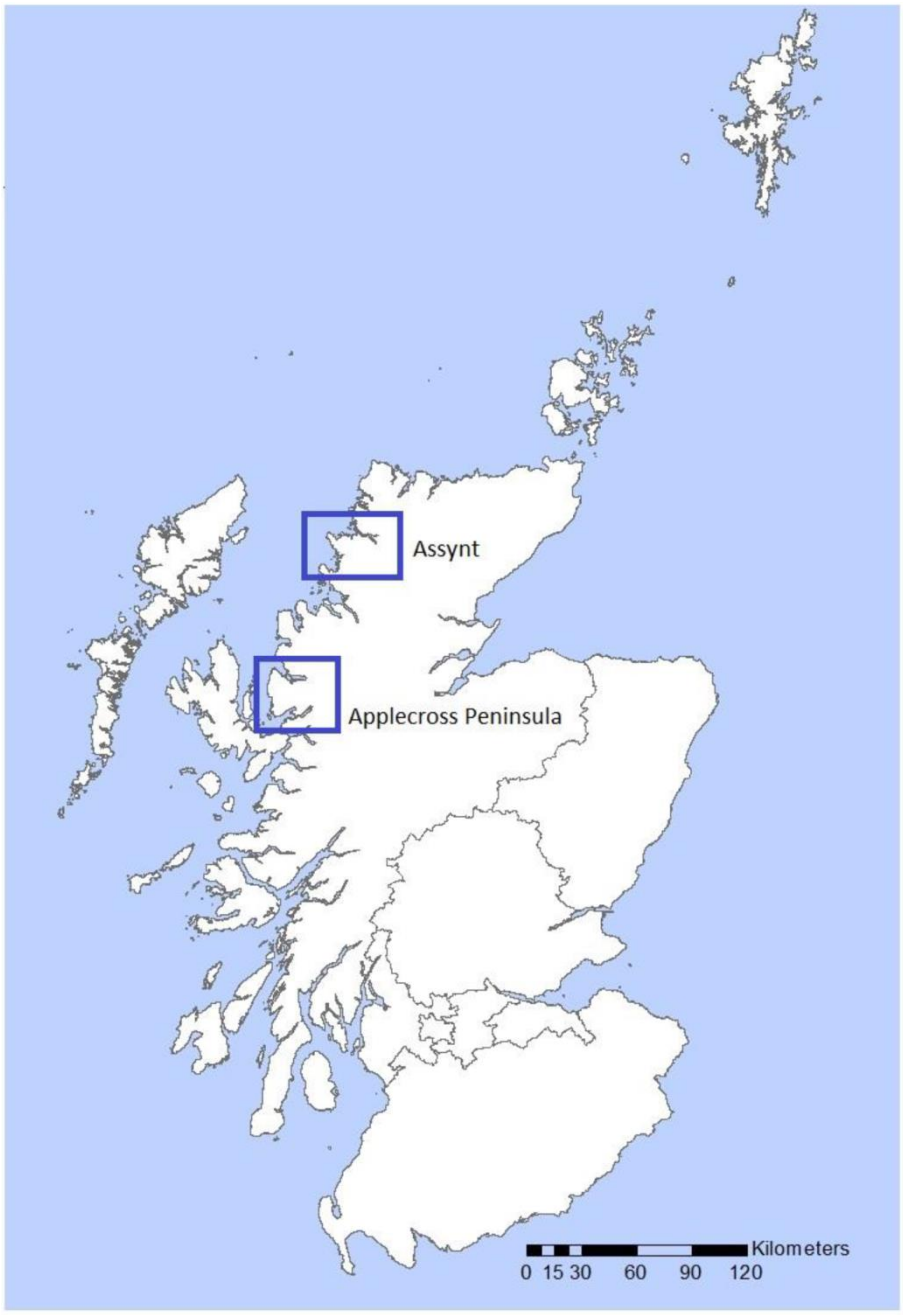


Figure 1-1: Location of Applecross Peninsula and Assynt within Scotland.

The Highlands of Scotland are often regarded as landscapes of high national importance, particularly scenically. As shown in Figure 1-2 both areas have either part or all of the areas covered by designations of National Scenic Areas and/or Wild Land. This will be explored further in Chapter 3 but as highlighted previously, due to the extent of these designations there is the potential for these to conflict with more locally-based values and incorporate the lived in nature of these communities. Furthermore there is the potential to conflict with the more participative principles of landscape

management policies such as the ELC and LUS which need to be translated into practice.

Both areas, as with the Highlands more broadly, have small population densities, in part again a reflection of the social history of the areas as well as the ability for people to earn a living and the type of lifestyle they wish to have. The events and consequences of the Clearances (see section 1.2.1 above) are not only reflected in the smaller population numbers but are also evident within the landscape, including ruins of old croft houses, field systems and shielings. Gaelic was traditionally spoken in Applecross and Assynt by the local population. Though there are still some – primarily the older generation – that can speak Gaelic this is a small percentage of the population. Traditionally Gaelic is an oral culture, through passing on stories and songs rather than the written word. The influence of the Gaelic culture in participants' perceptions of landscape is explored further in the analysis chapters. Though not a central aspect of the research it highlights the multiple backgrounds of local residents and visitors that now live, work and visit the Highlands of Scotland.

These two case study areas were selected primarily for the management strategies that were in place locally and the presence of landscape partnership schemes (LPS). Broadly, LPS are schemes that generally incorporate local management groups (including land owners) along with national bodies[6] such as Scottish Wildlife Trust. The schemes are much more localised and have an emphasis on cultural heritage as well as landscape-scale habitat conservation (Heritage Lottery Fund 2013). Further discussion on the process of choosing the two case study areas is provided in the methodology chapter. The following sections will now discuss the two areas in more ethnographic detail and both sections begin with my first encounters with the case study areas.

[6] LPSs will be discussed in chapter 3.

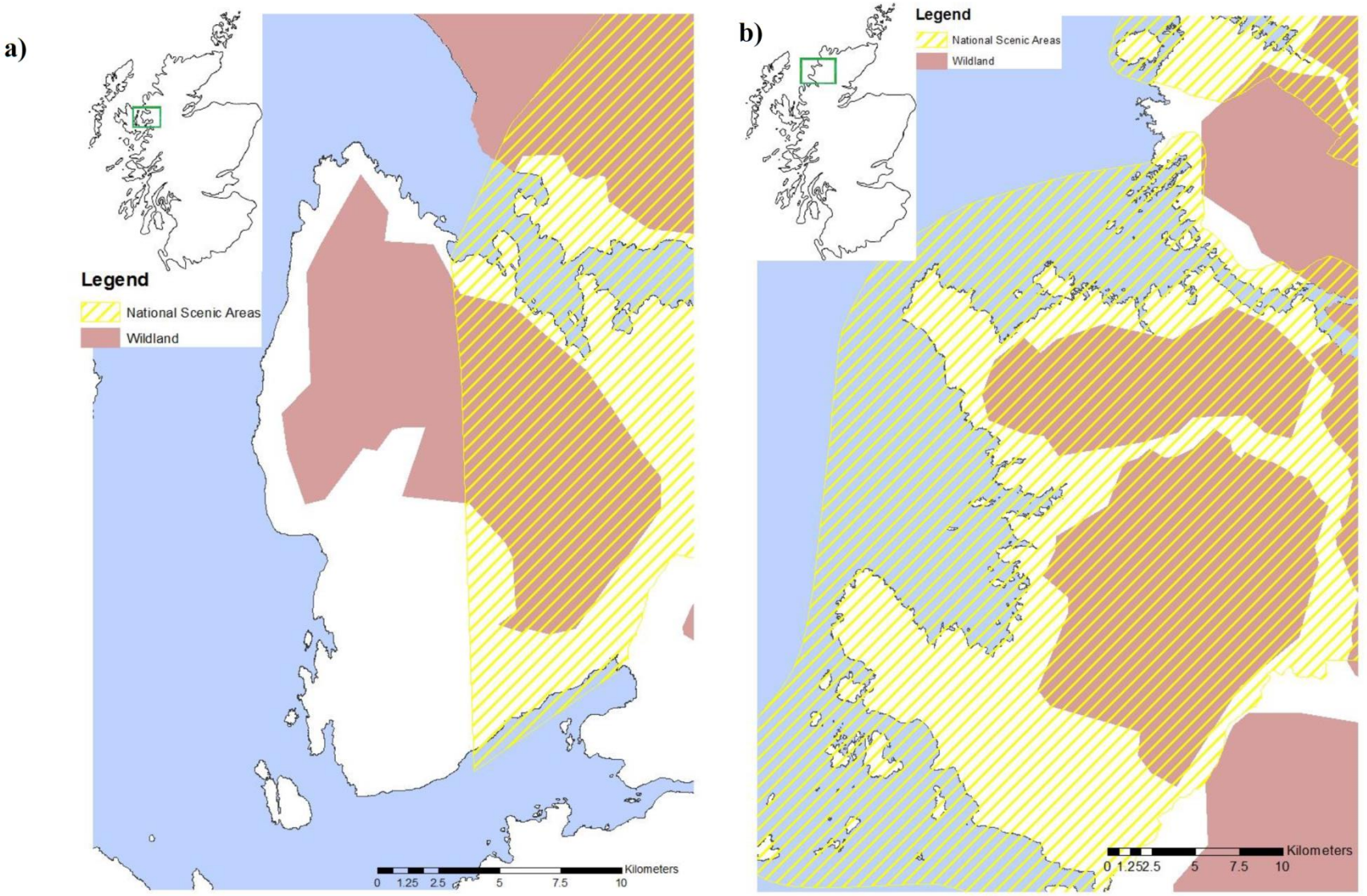


Figure 1-2: Maps of National Scenic Area and Wild Land designations on a) Applecross peninsula and b) Assynt (and Coigach) area. Source of data, Wild Land (http://gateway.snh.gov.uk/natural-spaces/index.jsp), National Scenice Areas (http://crtb.sedsh.gov.uk/spatialDataDownload/licenc.asp) and Scotland outline map: http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/europe/outline/scotland.htm.

1.3.1 Applecross/A' Chomraich

Figure 1-3: A viewing bench at the top of the Bealach na Bà. The photograph was taken in June 2012, since this time the bench has been replaced by a stone seating area as part of the landscape partnership scheme's projects.

There are two ways to reach the Applecross peninsula by road, one is the mountain pass of the Bealach na Bà to the south and the other is a more circuitous route along the coastal road from the north. My first experience of Applecross was the mountain pass road, and on reaching the top was a view that looked out across towards the Isle of Skye and the distinctive Cuillin mountain range and the Small Isles further south (Figure 1-3). At the top of the pass you can see across the peninsula but are drawn to look out seawards to the Isle of Skye, Raasay and the Small Isles which dominate the skyline.

The peninsula of Applecross is owned by the Applecross Estate, a charitable trust set up by the owners of the estate – the Wills family – initially in 1975 before the whole estate was gifted over to the Trust in 1993 (Applecross Trust 2011). The peninsula has a history of private ownership since the late 16th Century (Mackenzie 1999). The Wills family are still represented and involved on the Board of Trustees for the estate. Figure 1-4 shows a map of the peninsula. The areas of settlement within the peninsula are

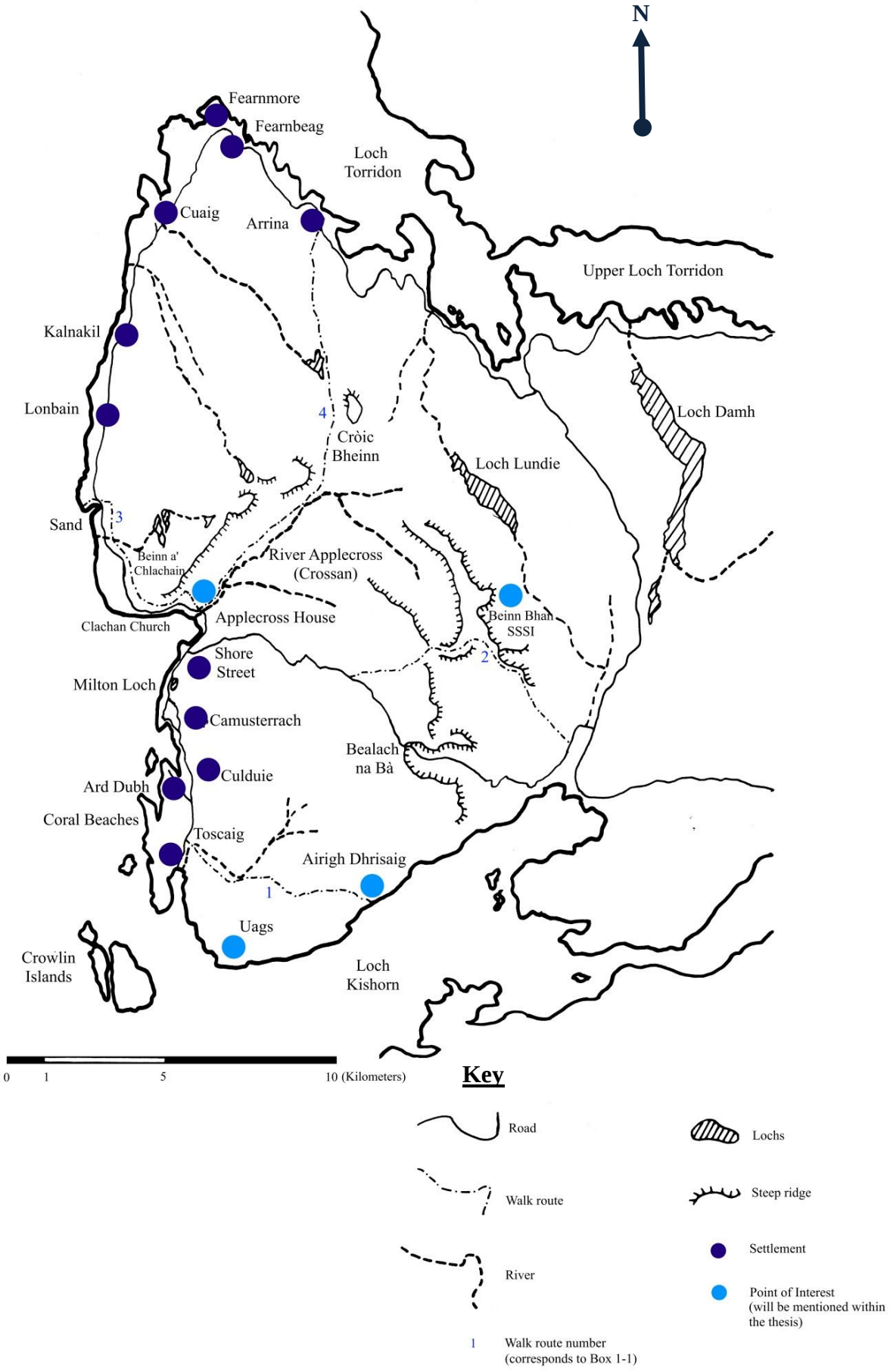


Figure 1-4: Sketch map of the Applecross peninsula (by author).

located around the coastline a reflection of the social history of the area and also the topography of the central peninsula. The agricultural estate land and estate house (Applecross House) are located around Applecross Bay and up the River Applecross.

Box1-1 shows the walks and activities undertaken in Applecross. I wanted to make a point on going on a number of walks either by myself or as part of an organised group. Walking allowed me to get to know the landscape of the area whilst taking part in activities meant I could get to know more people. Please play the video file titled 'Introduction to Applecross' for the visual ethnographic introduction to the peninsula. The video is a way of showing my encounters with the landscape and how I experienced them. I wanted to capture through the images that my eyes would often look out to the wider landscape but as I continued to move through the landscape I became more aware of what was within the landscape, birds, animals and plants. The impact of scale on my experience of the landscape was therefore influential. As Lee and Ingold (2006: 68) argue, walking allows a place to be known through creating routes, there is a 'shifting interaction of person and environment,' where the movement of all the body is as important as 'the act of vision outwards from a fixed point'. Included in

Box 1-1: Walks and social events undertaken in Applecross. Numbers on the walks correspond to Figure 1-4.

Walks:
1 - Airigh Dhrisaig to Toscaig
2 - Bheinn Ban SSSI (organised through ALPS)
3 - Sand to Applecross House (organised through ALPS)
4 - Applecross House to Arrina

Natural and cultural heritage walks undertaken by local residents and organised through ALPS – these are not included in the map but took place primarily in the grounds Applecross House and Clachan Church
.

Participation in events:

- *'Gaelic in the Landscape'* – one day course on Gaelic place names.
- *Applecross Highland Games* – promoted as a celebration of Highland culture and hospitality, a mix of Highland games, community group stalls and crafts.
- *St Maelrubha's Day* – a celebration of the local saint including a 'Pilgrim's walk' (walk 3), barbeque and events in Clachan church).
- *Applecross Tree Festival* – traditional woodland craft workshops.

the video is a shorter video that was taken whilst walking on the Airigh Dhrisaig to Toscaig walk to highlight the movement of both eyes and body through the landscape. The video also incorporates sound, this was done deliberately to capture an element of the 'more-than-visual' experiences within these landscapes. Through being outside I became more aware of different senses and being more immersed within the landscape.

1.3.2 Assynt/Assainte

I first arrived in Assynt in the dark. I had no experience of anywhere this far north before and so was excited to see the landscape for the first time in the morning. Somewhat unexpectedly when I arrived at the cottage I was staying in just outside Lochinver – the biggest settlement of Assynt in terms of population – all I could see were lights. I was surprised by this and I was starting to think that there was a northwest Highland metropolis that I hadn't realised was there. The next morning it became clear that the lights were from the fishing harbour. The presence of the water and the use of the water – both in Assynt and Applecross – challenged my ideas around doing research focussed on the *land*scape as within these areas a distinctive boundary between sea and land became less apparent (discussions on what is meant by *land*scape are given in chapter 5).

Figure 1-5 is a map of the Assynt area. Settlements, similar to Applecross, are generally located along the coastline, whereas further inland are the bigger estate lands. Unlike Applecross, however, there are a number of land owners including the Assynt Foundation (south Assynt), Culag Community Woodland Trust (South Assynt), Assynt Crofters Trust (North Assynt) – all of which are community land owners – John Muir Trust (Quinag mountain) and a number of smaller private estates. In an attempt to bring all of these land owners together (and also including Scottish Wildlife Trust) the Coigach and Assynt Living Landscape (CALL) group is a landscape partnership scheme that helps to manage the landscape and develop the local economy. Box 1-2 provides an overview of the walks and activities that I took part in whilst I was in Assynt. As in Applecross I did a combination of my own walks alongside organised walks. Similarly to Applecross the more time spent at organised events allowed me to get to know people and for people to get to know about me. This raised an ethical challenge of anonymity within these small Highland communities which is discussed fully in chapter 3.

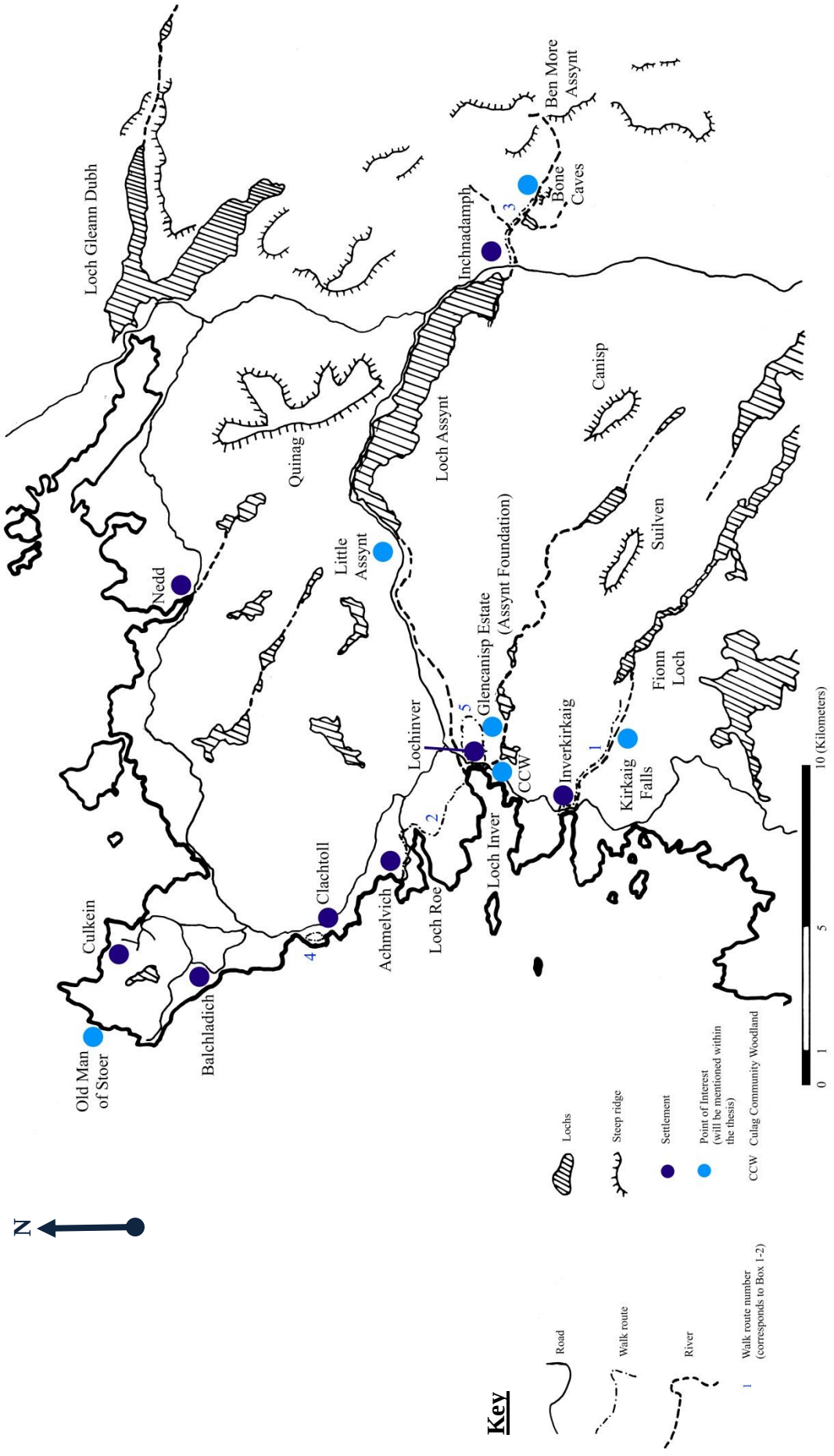


Figure 1-5: Sketch map of the Assynt area (by author).

Walks:
1 - Inverkirkaig to Fionn Loch
2 - Lochinver to Achmelvich
3 - Inchnadamph to the Bone Caves (organised as part of 'Earth Day' event)
4 - Clachtoll beach to the Broch (organised by Highland Council Rangers)
5 – The 'Lochinver loop'

Participation in events:

- *Earth day* – a day of events including walk to the Bone Caves, book launch of 'Bear Witness' by Mandy Haggith and presentations and discussions on rewilding.
- *SAMPHIRE presentation on underwater archaeology* – talk by Scottish Atlantic Maritime Past: Heritage, Investigation, Research & Education about a shipwreck archaeology site off the north coast of Assynt area.
- *Culag Community Woodland Trust (CCWT) AGM* – community event of the CCWT with progress reports and discussion on future projects.
- *Local craft sale* – local crafters selling their produce

Box 1-2: Walks and social events undertaken in Assynt. Numbers on the walks correspond to Figure 1-5.

Please play the video file titled 'Introduction to Assynt' for the visual ethnographic introduction to the area. Like the Applecross video it is comprised of photographs taken during walks around the area. This video reflects my encounters with the landscapes of Assynt. The first day on Assynt, I was struck by the mountains – Quinag, Canisp, Suilven, Cul Mor, Stac Pollaidh – in particularly how they appeared to rise out of the ground singularly rather than a collective chain, the first image on the video shows some of these mountains from a viewpoint I drove passed whenever I travelled north. Figure 1-6 is a sketch of Suilven, the mountain that, in particular, seemed to dominate the skyline for me due to its shape. Wherever I went in Assynt one of these mountains was visible. They became like talismans of the landscape of Assynt, always providing a landmark with which to orientate to. Though they remained – relatively – permanent in the landscape I became more aware of the changing weather and how this on some days would hide the mountains, thus changing the perspective and experience I had. As I walked through the landscapes I also became more aware of what was within them, the different flowers and animals, the bird sounds, helped largely by the organised walks where people would often share their own knowledge. Due to the time of year

Figure 1-6: My own sketch of Suilven, one of the predominant mountains of the Assynt skyline. I drew this on a designated walk that went around Lochinver and the Glencanisp estate, part of the Assynt Foundation community land trust.

I was in Assynt I was also aware of the changing seasons with Spring being slow to start but flowers and greenery emerging through the time I was there.

The case study areas illustrated many of the conceptual and policy issues raised previously in this chapter. Furthermore it challenged my own pre-conceptions about what I thought and how I approached these landscapes. Living – albeit in a very short space of time and not in any meaningful way – in these areas for the 5-6 weeks allowed me to be-in these landscapes every day and to experience them. I was also able to generate my own responses to a 'more-than-visual' approach to 'landscapes' challenging my 'painterly eye' and engaging also with other senses and trying to represent them in more creative ways. The following section outlines the methodology of the research.

1.4 Positioning the research methodologically

The concepts, policy and case study areas introduced above highlight the complexity of the research area within which this research is positioned. This research recognises the growing debate within both policy and academic discourses for a more integrated and hybrid approach to 'landscape' and 'culture'. Similarly, it recognises that there is a need for more novel methods and approaches needed in order to explore and in turn begin to articulate these more nuanced, intangible and embodied relationships between people and landscapes. Furthermore, as this research aims to be policy relevant, there is a need to develop a methodology that is also able to translate in a more policy and management practice way. This section will outline the methodology and methods adopted for this research.

Latham (2003) has broadly argued for an 'opening of methodological horizons within human geography' suggesting that human geographers have become too attached to a few qualitative methods. Consequently, methods and the practice of research have not progressed as much as theoretical approaches have, for example, with post-structuralism and post-colonialism. Alongside this call within academia, section 1.2 highlighted the growing challenge within policy to undertake methods that are able to illicit a more holistic understanding of how people 'value' landscapes to then be translatable into policy and practice. In response to this therefore, the research adopts a 'more-than-visual' methodology, incorporating walking interviews, arts-based methods, key informant interviews and feedback events. The research has been greatly influenced by

Clark & Emmel (2010); Cloke & Jones (2001); Lee & Ingold (2006) Lorimer & Wylie (2010); Wylie (2005; 2002) who have all undertaken a more performative approach to their methods, in particular focussing on walking and how the performance of doing research *with* participants can help to explore not only what is being said but how it is influenced by the surroundings and how participants are able to express themselves not only with words but through the body. Their focus on being-in-the-landscape emphasises a more embodied approach to landscape and research, thus shifting and challenging individuals' understandings of what they know. Furthermore the research is part of the growing range of policy relevant research which keenly supports the call by Milton (2002) and Anderson & Smith (2001: 8) who recognise 'emotions as ways of knowing, being and doing in the broadest sense; and using this to take geographical knowledges – and the relevance that goes with them – beyond their more usual visual, textual and linguistic domains.' This methodology thus connects back to the conceptual discussions around embodied, emotional and visual landscapes. The methods were deliberately chosen to explore the extent to which such 'more-than-visual' approaches might be incorporated within the practices of landscape management.

The research undertook a semi-participatory approach. As such, participants guided the research as much as possible within the interviews by leading much of the discussions. The research aims and methods, however, were determined prior to the research being undertaken within the research areas. Kindon *et al.* (2007) argue that participatory research is cyclical and requires continuous, critical, reflection on the research process. This was, therefore, incorporated not only through keeping a research diary to be aware of my own reflections on the research but also the inclusion of feedback events as part of the methodology allowed for participants (and other local residents) to contribute to the analysis process and to reflect back on the methods adopted.

1.5 Research aims and objectives

A challenge for environmental management is to incorporate and negotiate between a diversity of values – economic to cultural – from different stakeholders. In order to achieve the aim of this research (outlined at the beginning of the chapter) to explore cultural values of landscape and the extent to which creative methodologies could be used to critically examine these values, the following three specific research objectives will be undertaken:

1. To examine how people experience the landscape and how this influences the relationship people have with the landscape through using 'more-than-visual' methods.
2. To identify key landscape management issues within the two case study areas and explore them from a more hybrid perspective, focussing, in particular, on cultural values to identify the potential and challenges of such an approach.
3. To investigate participants perceived barriers to participation within landscape management and to explore the potential and limitations of 'more-than-visual' methods to overcome these barriers.

These three research objectives form the basis of the research and informed the methodological approach. The following section now outlines the structure of the thesis.

1.6 Thesis structure

The chapter began by outlining the conceptual, policy and methodological underpinnings of the thesis, identifying the challenges and gaps within landscape management policy and the potential of academic approaches which may assist in bridging these gaps. This was then followed by an ethnographic introduction to the case study areas. The purpose of this was to centralise the landscapes and the case study areas more broadly within the research structure and to raise questions about the complex challenges of encountering, representing and researching landscapes. The thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter 2 explores the academic literature further around the development of the concept of 'landscape'. It takes the four dualisms identified by Wylie (2007) outlined above in section 1.1 and uses them as a framework to explore the ways in which 'landscape' has been approached, from a primarily visual concept, to the emergence of a more embodied and 'more-than-visual' concept. It also highlights the concepts of 'being-in-the-landscape' and 'dwelling' (Cloke & Jones 2001; Ingold 2000) to engage with a more sensorial immersive approach to landscape and how this challenges the more traditional 'landscape as a way of seeing' and visual concept (Daniels & Cosgrove 1988). It then focusses specifically on nature/culture discourses and how these have impacted on how landscapes are understood and potentially informed management practices. It outlines what a more 'hybrid' approach to landscape might entail and how this may help to critically examine landscape management issues.

Chapter 3 explores policy documents and landscape management literature. The chapter aims to identify the gaps between policy and practice, despite the participatory and cultural turn in policy there is relatively little serious attempt to find ways of accessing these cultural values and meaningfully engaging with multiple stakeholders. In particular the chapter draws out key challenges that are raised within the ELC and the LUS, the two policies that have informed the policy context of this research. It then looks at current landscape management practices that are in place within Scotland, identifying the tensions that exist between policy and practice. Broader issues around stakeholder participation, governance and ownership are also explored.

Chapter 4 details the methodology and methods adopted for the research. It outlines the research design and framework that developed and provides a critical discussion around the semi-participatory and performative approach adopted by the research. Issues of research ethics – including naming the case study areas and working in small communities – and researcher positionality are also addressed.

Chapters 5 and 6 are the first of the substantive analysis chapters and focus specifically on how participants describe the landscapes and their experiences of landscapes to address the first research objective. **Chapter 5** focuses specifically on the visual and aesthetic aspects of landscapes identified by participants. It draws out the importance of the visual nature of 'landscape' as a concept but also how this is part of much broader 'more-than-visual' encounters with landscape. **Chapter 6** focuses more on the embodied and emotional experiences of 'being-in-the-landscape'. In particular, it explores the ways in which landscapes are inhabited drawing on the concept of 'dwelling' and the everyday lived experiences and the ways in which these inform understandings of landscapes (Ingold 2000). Together the chapters highlight a more fluid and temporal understanding of landscapes informed by multiple past immersive experiences, emotions and memories.

Chapter 7 explores the ways in which participants reflected on the current management practices within the two case study areas to address the second research objective. The potential of a more 'hybrid' approach to the two concepts is explored in order to challenge the ways in which landscape management is currently practiced and the extent to which a 'more-than-visual' approach can help to inform landscape management. It critically examines the issues identified by participants in relation to their narratives of 'nature' and 'culture' and the extent to which culturally embedded norms of these

concepts can influence perceptions of how landscape management can shape the landscape as well as the place of people within it.

Chapter 8 furthers the discussion of landscape management and examines the potential and challenges identified in relation to participation within management thus addressing the third research objective. It examines the role of social processes that may be influencing the landscape management, including the influence of land ownership. It critically explores the feedback events and how participants felt that the methods and the feedback could encourage greater engagement with landscape management. It also identifies the challenges faced in undertaking the feedback events, in particular around ethics, and the issues they raised for implementing similar strategies within management practices in the future.

Chapter 9 draws conclusions and wider implications from the research and identifies key implications of adopting a 'more-than-visual' methodology, in particularly, in relation to the understanding of 'landscapes' and landscape management. A 'more-than-visual' toolkit is outlined, providing key principles and guidelines for landscape managers when exploring cultural values and undertaking stakeholder participation. Future research is identified as well as a final reflection on the research.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The concept of ‘landscape’ is a complex one. It is a word that is part of everyday vocabulary and used in multiple ways (Cresswell 2003). Furthermore it is a concept that can often be misunderstood, both in everyday language and within disciplines which engage with it directly (Butler & Åkerskog 2014; Cresswell 2003). As briefly identified in the previous chapter, there is an increasing emphasis being placed on the role of culture and cultural values within landscape management practices. This raises challenges around identifying what landscapes are perceived to be and highlighting the interconnected relationship between people and landscape. This chapter, therefore, aims to provide an overview of the development of the concept of landscape, primarily from a cultural geography perspective, though drawing on work from art history, fine art and anthropology.

In order to achieve the above aim, the chapter will unpack further the landscape dualisms from Wylie (2007) – proximity/distance, observation /habitation, eye/land and nature/culture – and from Macdonald (2002) and Macdonald (2008) that of culture/spectacle – in relation to landscape literature as they are a framework through which to critically explore the concept of ‘landscape’ (see Figure 2-1). The chapter begins by focussing on the ‘aesthetic’ and ‘iconographic’ visual discourses of landscape which remain dominant in much of landscape writing and research (section 2.2). This is then followed by the development of a more embodied concept of landscape, exploring ‘more-than-visual’ and sensory experiences of landscape (section 2.3). The chapter ends by highlighting the key themes and the potential of bringing these strands together through exploring ‘nature’ and ‘culture’ discourses from a ‘hybrid’ approach (Whatmore 2002) to the two concepts (section 2.4).

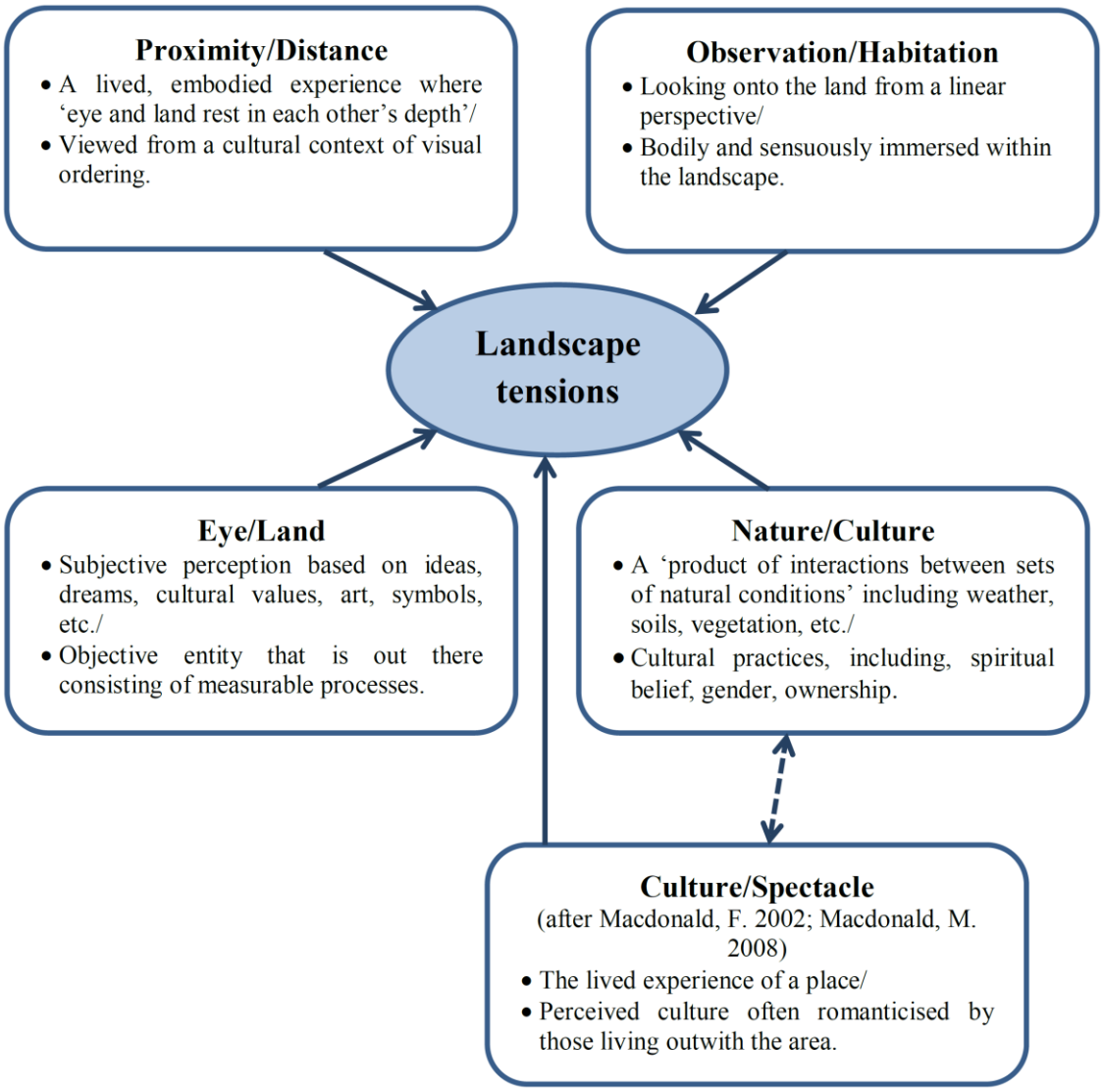


Figure 2-1: Landscape tensions as identified by Wylie (2007: 1-11) including the addition of a tension between 'culture/spectacle' identified by Macdonald (2002) and Macdonald (2008).

2.2 The picturesque and the landscape gaze

This section specifically focuses on the concept of 'landscape', in particular, 'landscape' as 'a way of seeing' generated from a linear perspective over landscape (Cosgrove 1984; 1985). It highlights the dualism of 'proximity/distance' directly through identifying how art, particularly landscape painting, has re-presented landscapes as being something observed by a detached onlooker and so encouraged the development of a particular landscape gaze[7]. The section begins by exploring how

[7] It should be noted that all four dualisms identified by Wylie (2007) have a degree of overlap and therefore, though one or two may be distinguished as being directly focussed upon within a section it is likely that one or more of the other dualisms will also be discussed and referred to.

'traditional' artistic practices have influenced how individuals look upon landscapes and how visual representations provide a means through which to explore social dynamics around the time of the production of the image (section 2.2.1). This is then followed by a focussed discussion of Scottish landscape painting and the influence this has had on creating a specific 'Highland gaze' focussed around nostalgia for the past and how this has legacies in emphasising 'spectacle' over 'culture' (section 2.2.2). The section ends with a critique of the picturesque focus on landscape through exploring how it privileges a particular way of viewing the landscape (section 2.2.3).

2.2.1 The picturesque: landscape as a way of seeing

> '… the landscape idea represents a way of seeing – a way in which some Europeans have represented to themselves and to others the world about them and relationships with it, and through which they have commented on social relations' (Cosgrove 1984: 1).

Cosgrove, in the quotation above, clearly sets out how landscape has developed to be a primarily visual concept. Cosgrove (1985) and Daniels & Cosgrove (1988: 1) similarly argue that landscape is a way of seeing, 'a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolising surroundings'. They argue, therefore, that landscapes are more than the physical terrain but also a cultural image and product which can contain layers of social and cultural meaning that can be discerned under closer attention (Cant & Morris 2006). This 'way of seeing' landscape is, therefore, historically and socially contextualised (Cresswell 2003). In relation to this research this privileging of the visual aspects of landscape is useful to explore how preferences for certain or particular landscapes have become embedded within society and cultures and in turn transferred and practiced through historical and contemporary management practices[8].

Mills (1997) argues the importance of an image is that it engages the public and subsequently teaches people how to react to their surroundings. Cosgrove (1985: 48) explores this through the development of artistic techniques within landscape painting, arguing that, 'the artist, through perspective, establishes the arrangement or composition and thus … determines – in both senses – the 'point of view' to be taken by the observer.' Linear perspective, he goes on to identify, 'directs the external world towards the individual located outside that space. It gives the absolute mastery over space,'

[8] This will be discussed further in the chapter 3 through exploring how landscape designation can similarly reflect these embedded landscape preferences.

(*ibid*.). It could, therefore, be argued that this artistic practice has become a social norm in how an individual then comes to observe the landscape, always looking out towards the larger scene in the distance rather than what is proximally around them, thus illustrating the tension between proximity and distance identified by Wylie (2007). Ellison (2013) argues that the ideal image of a landscape – whether it is a painting or photograph – will not have people in it, thus maintaining this distance.

This view of the picturesque landscape is largely discussed in relation to the 18th and 19th Century romantic and picturesque painters of Western Europe and later North America (Duncan 1995). Whyte (2002: 131) describes this period of landscape painting as a 'denial of industrialization and a celebration of landscapes that were being rapidly lost.' Whyte's description suggests that these landscapes were held with great affection compared to those of the rapidly industrialising cities where people lived their lives, indicating that these landscapes were a form of escapism. Such paintings are thus claimed to be representative of the social response to landscape and the changing attitude towards nature within an industrialising society. Ellison (2013) and MacDonald (2002: 60) recognise the influence of picturesque artistic practices and how they can still be seen in some contemporary artistic practices by maintaining a separation and distance between people and landscapes and thus reinforcing 'a specific cultural aesthetic' which people are distinctly not part of. Consequently, this cultural tension of the place and proximity of people within landscape – as will be argued in future chapters – poses challenges for the management of landscapes and who they are being managed for.

Yet, as previously identified, images can also represent social, cultural and power relations. Daniels & Cosgrove (1988) put forward the idea that landscape art from the picturesque period established a social hierarchy resulting in the gentrification of landscape which can be seen within the paintings, primarily through portraying ownership over land by the upper classes. This was particularly so for more 'natural' landscapes and pastoral landscapes such as the painting by Gainsborough of "Mr and Mrs Andrews" (Nash, 2000) which, as can be seen in Figure 2-2, is a managed and worked landscape. The composition of the painting has Mr Andrews positioned to show the extent of his estate and the power he has in that landscape, noting particularly the gun and his posture. Mr Andrews is again asserting his ownership and dominance over

Figure 2-2: 'Mr and Mrs Andrews' by Thomas Gainsborough, c.1750, © The National Gallery, London (source: http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/thomas-gainsborough-mr-and-mrs-andrews, reproduced with permission)

the landscape. In contrast, Mrs Andrews is sitting down emphasising her being closer to nature and her role to be 'productive' through child bearing (*ibid*.). Furthermore, Nash (2000: 64) argues, men of lower classes (particularly those that worked the land), women and other 'races' 'were not thought to be able to see landscape in this way [the ability to recognise and enjoy picturesque landscapes] since they supposedly lacked the distance and objectivity which defined both the ability to govern and to see the work in appropriate ways.' Once again there is referencing to the tension between distance/proximity, with those of a higher social class (and male) regarded as being 'distant' from the landscape and therefore much more able to govern it. The picture, therefore, keenly emphasises the social and gender relations at the time of the painting. This research will not be directly analysing classic and contemporary paintings, however, this does illustrate the potential of art as a means of engaging with deeper rooted social and cultural norms that may be reproduced and thus reify such norms.

Discussion in this section has emphasised how distance from the landscape has often been valued over proximity and is reflected in the picturesque style. Ellison (2013: 81) has argued that this has also been translated in ecological science, whereby reference is often made to a 'balance of nature' whereby nature is located somewhere else and is a refuge from the chaotic human world. Cultural values, it could be argued, therefore have

been translated into the practice of landscape within the management of them. Though management of landscapes on the one hand may be representative of 'shared' cultural values, on the other they do not necessarily represent society as a whole. Within a more contemporary context and in relation to this research, this raises questions around whose 'views' count within landscape management, particularly if the 'objectivity' of the science behind why a landscape should be managed in a particular way due to its ecology could be contested as being equally culturally embedded (Robertson & Richards 2003). This will be discussed further in chapter 3. The following section will now explore the landscape gaze but within a specifically Scottish context, examining the role that landscape has played in creating a particular Scottish – Highland – landscape gaze.

2.2.2 The Scottish landscape gaze: romance and nostalgia

Warren (2009: 3) identifies that 'images of Scotland are familiar around the world, imagery which typically portrays the country as a land of rugged, unspoiled, misty grandeur.' Yet despite this, Warren argues, this imagery – or more specifically the 'Highland vistas' that compose much of this imagery – often fails to portray the complexity and diversity of Scotland's landscapes (*ibid.*: 7). Indeed, MacLean (1986: 6) has argued that despite landscapes being 'by far the most common theme in Highland imagery' they are commonly 'devoid of people'[9]. Thus the Scottish landscape gaze broadly follows the same principles as discussed in the previous section in relation to separating and distancing people from landscape.

In contrast to this, however, Cameron (1998: 202) argues that the prevalence of 'dire poverty' throughout the Highlands during the 19th Century was in stark contrast and contradictory to the romantic image of Highlanders during this time. This section focuses on the influence of culture – particularly popular art culture – on the perception of Scottish landscapes and in particular draws on what Macdonald (2008) and MacDonald, F. (2002) identifies as a tension between 'spectacle' and 'culture'. This tension is identified in relation to how Scotland, in particular the Highland areas of Scotland, have come to be perceived with romantic nostalgia by those outwith the area and as such the culture of those who live in these landscapes can be overlooked or

[9] It was this that encouraged the creation of an exhibition 'As an Fhearann' which, for the first time, brought material together that focussed specifically on the people of the Highlands and where ''pure' landscape would be excluded,' (MacLean 1986: 6).

equally as romanticised as the landscapes themselves (Soden 2008). MacDonald (2002: 60) has argued that the production and maintenance of picturesque images of the Highlands still, 'very often has a naturalising effect on social relations and may overwrite concerns about social justice.' Consequently the promotion of the Highlands as 'spectacle' can often overlook the culture of those who live and work in these areas (*ibid.*).

The perception of the Highland landscape and 'Highlandism' has been argued to be a construct of the 18th and 19th Century romantic and picturesque painters (Linklater 1997). This distinctive landscape gaze is dominated by visions of vast and empty spaces inhabited only by deer and largely devoid of human presence unless indirectly through the inclusion of cattle and livestock (see Figure 2-3 as an example). Pringle (1988) indicates that during this time the indigenous Gaelic culture of the Highlands was undermined continuously through active suppression through the Clearances and replaced by the view of the Highlands as empty and wild landscapes. It is perhaps during this period – also referred to as the 'Balmoralism' (Toogood 2003: 154) or 'Balmorality' (Lorimer 2000: 408; MacDonald 2002: 61) of the Highlands – that the tension between representing the landscapes as spectacle or culture is most keenly seen. Sodden (2008) furthers this argument and suggests that artists (and more recently the media and advertising) have been strong in promoting nostalgia for a 'heroic and colourful past' emphasising this idea of the Highlands as a 'spectacle'.

Womack (1989) details the creation of a distinctly Highland identity that was in part influenced by the landscape, giving particular emphasis to the role of the Caledonian Forest that provided a focus for this idea of identity and rootedness to the land, quoting Walter Scott who describes 'Romantic Caledon.' This image of the Highlands, however, was often at odds with the 'real' landscape and the experience of living in the landscape. Yet despite this Cameron (1998: 195) believes it to be a paradox that the most 'potent symbols' of Scottish national identity are from the Scottish Highlands, an area of the country which for much of Scottish history, he argues, was viewed as separate from the rest of the nation. Furthermore Trevor-Roper (1983: 15) claims that the 'Highland' culture of kilts, tartan and bagpipes is a 'retrospective invention' formed around – and in some cases much later than – the union with England.

Figure 2-3: Peter Graham, Wandering Shadows (1878), Scottish National Gallery. Purchased with the aid of the Cowan Smith Bequest Fund 1944. (Source: https://www.nationalgalleries.org/object/NG 1986, reproduced with permission)

The influence of such artistic interpretations on perceptions of Scottish landscapes can be seen in the development of the tourist industry (MacDonald 2002) and in particular on the development of the infrastructure for the tourism industry. Soden (2008) identifies that during the inter war years of the Twentieth Century the consolidation of a 'Highland gaze' occurred due to the construction of roads and the development of railway lines into the Highlands. This allowed for particular aspects of the landscape to be viewed from a certain perspective at designated viewpoints (such as the bench on the road in to Applecross mentioned in Figure 1-3 in chapter 1) or due to the angle the viewer is encouraged to look at the landscape. It is this Highland gaze, and thus the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, that has increasingly been recognised to represent and to be 'symbolic' of Scotland as a whole (Toogood 2003). In relation to this research the implications of such a 'Highland gaze' may result in the dominance of a particular 'vision' of what landscapes should be like. MacDonald (2002: 64) has argued that images used today to promote the tourist industry in the Highlands and by landscape managers, including Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH) – particularly noting the photography of Colin Baxter (see Figure 2-4 as an example of popular Scottish landscape photography) – still create this tension between the Highlands as spectacle and culture, stating:

Figure 2-4: 'Canisp, Suilven, Cul Mor, Stac Pollaidh' by Colin Prior (Source: http://colinprior.co.uk/portfolio_page/highlands/, reproduced with permission)

> '[p]articular places, having established a reputation in tourist iconography, are enduringly popular, the historical interest or meaning of the site having been displaced by the image itself … These pictures are highly naturalising, that is to say that they project a permanence and naturalness to the landscape that lies outside of its ideological context.'

This has particular significance for this research as presentation of these images projects a specific visualisation of landscapes and what the ecology is like within them. This is what is then considered '*the* "natural heritage" of Scotland' without recognition of the social and cultural systems that have played a part in creating them (*ibid*., original emphasis).

The previous two sections have highlighted how culturally embedded meanings of landscapes through the picturesque and romantic landscape art movement of the 18th and 19th centuries continue to influence ideas of what nature is, what landscapes should look like and therefore how they are subsequently managed. This section, however, has also highlighted the tension between spectacle and culture, as raised by Macdonald (2008) and MacDonald (2002), namely that the 'spectacle' that is often portrayed by these images of particular landscapes can often be at odds with the 'culture' of those who live and work in them. This is of particular relevance for this research and will be a recurring theme throughout the analysis chapters. The following section now focusses on this more critical view of the 'landscape gaze' and the picturesque approach to landscape.

2.2.3 Critiquing the Picturesque: identity, exclusion and boundaries

The picturesque understanding of landscape as developed by Daniels and Cosgrove (1988), though of undoubted value in understanding social dynamics, is dominated by the middle/upper class-, white-, male- and European-centric discourse of viewing landscapes. Rose (1993: 88) argues that approaching landscape research from a picturesque perspective often fails to acknowledge the 'masculine gaze' whereby landscapes are regarded as objects looked upon 'actively, possessively, sexually and pleasurably.' Rose *et al.* (1997), similarly, describe landscape as being intrinsically gendered due to the creative representations of landscape which are being produced in ways that give pleasure specifically to a male viewer. This section explores these and other critiques of the 'picturesque' landscapes and how some contemporary artists have attempted to challenge the 'traditional' landscape gaze.

Nash (1996) provides a means by which vision can be reclaimed by contesting this traditional masculine gaze of feminised landscapes by analysing the works of two contemporary female artists, Diane Baylis and Pauline Cummins. Their works contest this body-land metaphor by using artistic and cultural traditions of constructing a landscape but using the male body as subject. In '*Abroad'* by Diane Baylis (Figure 2-5) the male torso replicates the contours of land whilst also depicting a place of sexual desire. This is in contrast to traditional representations of the female body as a metaphor for nature. Nash (1996: 167; 2000) argues that looking is never only or just 'masculine' and that the politics of viewing the body as land or land as body are always contextual as ultimately there are different 'kinds of looking'. In spite of the challenges to the 'traditional' landscape gaze or the masculine gaze, it can still be a barrier to some members and social groups within society. Consequently this can make landscapes – particularly those regarded as 'natural' – feel exclusionary due to the race, gender, sexuality or physical health of a person (Nash 2000). Understanding the context of why some groups feel excluded from these landscapes is important and may provide insights into the different values held and why those values are held for the landscape.

Landscape policy can often keenly emphasise the role of landscape as being central to the identity of a nation and individuals (the Land Use Strategy for Scotland illustrates this, see Scottish Government 2011 and chapter 3). Conversely, however, landscapes

Figure 2-5: 'Abroad' by Diane Baylis (1992) (Source: reproduced from Nash (1996:150) and with permission from the artist)

can also be seen as exclusive of a particular identity. This can be seen within the context of exclusion of particular social groups, especially in landscapes deemed 'rural' and/or 'natural,' (Kinsman 1995). The photography of Ingrid Pollard illustrates this (*ibid*.). A Black photographer, she has produced images within English rural landscapes which are a stark contrast to past painters such as Constable and Turner portraying peaceful, idyllic landscapes. They articulate instead a sense of dread, of not belonging and even a sense of violence not often associated with these landscapes, making the viewer in some respects feel uncomfortable. The violent history of slavery and past injustices is articulated in photographs taken in what is considered an iconic English landscape, the Lake District (*ibid*.). Tolia-Kelly (2007a) articulated similar responses from a group of Asian women from Burnley who had originally migrated from Pakistan. In her work Tolia-Kelly aims to highlight the influence of past landscapes on understandings of current lived-in landscapes. On a visit to the Lake District the women expressed a feeling of being 'shut in' in the landscapes of the UK in contrast to those in Pakistan. This was due to cultural reasons – due to the land not being owned by 'kith and kin they risk being suspected of dishonour more easily if seen without their spouse' alongside 'physical insecurities in unfamiliar surroundings … contributing to their fears' (*ibid.*: 346).

A further critique of the picturesque, landscape gaze is that it overly privileges the visual and the able-bodied perspective of landscape. Macpherson (2009) challenges previous studies of landscape which assume landscapes are all experienced the same with '20/20 vision' and can only be known through seeing them. Undertaking research with a group of visually impaired walkers in the Lake District, Macpherson argues that 'landscape emerges intercorporeally at the levels of both embodied practice and discourse' (*ibid*.: 1052). She furthers this argument by highlighting that thinking intercorporeally 'forces us to recognise that landscape cannot be reduced to object or individual subject, that landscape comes with the weight of numerous past associations, and that landscape cannot be reduced to representation or 'pure' bodily experience' (*ibid*.). The following section, therefore, focusses on exploring this further and, specifically, examines the tension between observation and inhabitation in order to challenge the role of the body in encounters with and experiences of landscape.

2.3 Embodied and experiential encounters with landscape

The previous section focussed specifically on landscape as a visual concept. Yet as the previous chapter briefly highlighted there is a shift to explore landscapes more broadly and to see how they are encountered and experienced in a multi-sensory way[10]. This focus towards more sensory experiences of landscape will now be discussed in relation to embodied and phenomenological writings on the concept of landscape. Here, landscape as a concept 'instead becomes potentially expressive of being-in-the-world itself: landscape as a milieu of engagement and involvement,' (Wylie 2007: 147). Thus landscape becomes a 'more-than-visual' concept.

This section begins by exploring landscape as being 'more-than-visual' (section 2.3.1). The emphasis on 'more-than' is deliberate to recognise both the visual and representational qualities of landscape and so not exclude either from these discussions or create a false dichotomy between the visual and the embodied. Instead, this research argues that collectively they provide a much broader understanding of the concept. The focus then turns specifically to emotional responses to landscape and the ways emotions can influence how landscapes are perceived and experienced (2.3.2).

[10] Parallels can be seen within policy discourses, which will be explored in further detail in the following chapter

2.3.1 Being 'more-than-visual': an embodied approach to landscape

> 'The lived body is a way of viewing and feeling the world and the way a subject comes to know and express this viewing and feeling' (Tilley & Bennett 2004: 3).

The quotation above illustrates a more 'embodied' and phenomenological approach to landscape. In contrast to the writing above about the picturesque landscape it seeks to focus more on how bodies are immersed within landscape where they are viewed and felt. Tilley (1994) and Tilley & Bennett (2004) recognise that landscapes are not only encountered visually but also on a day-to-day basis through the 'fleshiness' of the body. Such a perspective argues for a greater sensory experience of landscape, not relying on just what is seen through the eyes but also on what can be heard, smelt, felt and even tasted whilst in these landscapes. They argue that these then collectively influence the perception of that landscape (Tilley & Bennett 2004).

This increasing emphasis on the 'more-than-visual' and moving away from the landscape gaze has been paralleled in relation to artistic practices around landscape. Though landscape painting was previously identified as a significant factor in determining a 'landscape gaze' (Toogood 1995; Daniels & Cosgrove 1988) more contemporary artists are beginning to challenge this 'inert' perspective on landscape (Lorimer 2005: 84). Contemporary artistic practices, such as Land Art, are moving art out of the gallery and into the landscapes that the artists are responding to (Morris & Cant 2006). Such practices bring into focus what Rose (2012) terms the 'audiencing' of artwork. In-situ land art allows the audience to respond to both the artwork and the landscape in which it is situated thus allowing for the potential to encourage greater engagement with all aspects of the landscape, both culturally and ecologically. Cant & Morris (2006) and Morris & Cant (2006) highlight the potential for art that is multisensory, that can be encountered outside of the gallery and within a landscape. They argue this can renegotiate understandings of landscape 'to think beyond 'the visual'' and explore 'the fluid, performative and sometimes fleeting connections between environment, place, identity and meaning,' (Morris & Cant 2006: 859). In relation to this research, such an approach challenges the tension between eye and land through encouraging a sense of knowing the landscape through the body and mind.

Ingold (2000) uses the concept of 'dwelling' to consider a more embodied understanding of landscape. He argues that 'landscape is the world as it is known to

those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them,' (*ibid*.: 193). Landscape, therefore is not just visualised or a representation of cultural and social relations but something that is inhabited and performed within. Cloke & Jones (2001) similarly utilise the notion of dwelling, identifying that places are dynamic and multi-dimensional yet also have a familiarity through being-in-the-landscape and repeating activities of everyday life. The consequence for this research of such an approach lies in interrogating the (un)familiarity that participants may have with the landscape(s) and the extent to which they feel able to articulate this. How these day-to-day encounters are then articulated and expressed is a methodological question which will be addressed fully in chapter 4.

Providing a different perspective through which to explore and approach landscape research there is however the potential that adopting a phenomenological perspective might simultaneously remove any intrinsic value from the material landscape itself. As such, from this perspective there is a potential that landscapes are only meaningful if people are experiencing them (Massey 2006). The implications of such a perspective for this research suggest that people and people's experiences and values are considered greater than the landscape itself. Consequently the separation between nature and culture is maintained and reified rather than challenged (*ibid*.). There is therefore a need within the research to consider creating a balance between this and to explore what the consequences of this might be in relation to landscape management practices and greater public participation.

2.3.2 Emotional landscapes: memories, feelings and attachments

Ingold's (2000) concept of dwelling, in particular, argues for a more relational approach to landscape. From this perspective landscapes only become meaningful through people 'being-in-the-landscape' and experiencing it rather than being disembodied onlookers. 'Landscape', consequently, becomes more than the material but also the immaterial such as the encounters with and experiences of being-in-the-landscape. Two of Wylie's tensions once again are highlighted – eye/land and observation/habitation. Jones (2005) argues these encounters with(in) landscapes are an interplay between the conscious and unconscious self, memories and environment, they are emotional spatialities. It is not, therefore, just 'fleshy' encounters with landscape as described by Tilley (1994) which are involved but also, as emphasised by Jones (2005: 206), the emotional associations of memory that are an integral aspect of understanding 'how people make sense of/practice

the world'. A critique of focussing only on a dwelling perspective could be to overlook the material landscape and the agency and role this plays within the emotional spatialities and relationships between people and landscape. Wylie (2007) thus argues for 'landscaping' to be put first, whereby the practices of landscape – both human everyday encounters and the non-human processes occurring within landscape – highlight the fluidity of both the concept and the physical landscape.

Underlying the discussions around memory are notions of time. Tilley & Bennett (2004: 12) argue that existence within the world 'always involves a stretching out of the present towards the past, which thus remains in contact with it and in relation to the future.' Furthermore, individuals take their past with them and so influence how they experience landscapes in the present. Massey (2006; 2005), though in principle accepting this, argues that the landscape should be considered as having multiple trajectories both to the past and to the future. Massey challenges the 'grounded' ideals of landscape as being static and seeks to shift to landscape as something that is always moving – perhaps not too noticeable in a human time-scale but moving nonetheless – and therefore always changing and becoming.

Incorporating emotions into practice, however, remains difficult with Trudgill (2008) and Lorimer (2006: 26) arguing that there is 'clear reluctance in official circles to acknowledge the emotional underpinnings to natural history for fear of jeopardising its political power in discussion generally couched in terms of economic rationality and objective science.' Anderson & Smith (2001: 7) make similar arguments that this is not only restricted to policy but that there has also been a 'silencing of emotion in both social research and public life.' Furthermore Anderson and Smith suggest emotions are 'implicitly cast as a source of subjectivity which clouds vision and impairs judgement' (*ibid*.). Yet subjective cultural values are now central to many political discourses around landscape but as previously highlighted remain difficult to translate into practice. This has implications for this research seeking to implement a methodology that is able to explore and express such emotional and embodied values of landscape. Furthermore, there is the question of how these values can then be incorporated within management and not be regarded as being somehow 'irrational' and therefore unimportant compared to more 'rational' and productive values that can be quantified.

This section has identified the ways in which the concept of landscape has moved from a primarily visual and representative concept to one that is embodied and 'more-than-

visual'. It has challenged the separation of people from landscape through exploring the phenomenological perspectives of 'dwelling' and highlighted the influence of time – both past and present – on how landscapes are perceived and understood. It has been critiqued by Massey (2005; 2006), however, that a phenomenological approach can produce the same ontological separation of people from landscape through the 'individualistic self-absorption in much of the literature'. The following section now turns to focus on the ontological separation of 'nature' and 'culture' and the development of a more 'hybrid' approach to these concepts.

2.4 Nature/Culture: From separation to hybridity

This section takes somewhat of a side-step from the previous discussions focussed specifically on the concept of 'landscape' and addresses Wylie's (2007) final tension between nature and culture. Underlying many of the issues and critiques raised in previous sections in this chapter is an ontological distinction that has been made, both within academia and society more broadly, between 'nature' – a concept related to and often associated but not identical with 'landscape' – and 'culture'. The section begins by discussing critically the changing relationships and interactions between people and nature, moving from ideas of separation to those of hybridity (section 2.4.1). This is then followed by exploring the ways in which the separation of 'nature' and 'culture' has been translated into practice through spatializing nature (section 2.4.2).

2.4.1 Nature/culture: an ontological dichotomy or hybrid concepts?

The focus on cultural values in relation to landscape as adopted in this research requires a more careful and critical exploration of the concept of 'nature' as it is often associated with ideas of land, landscape and the environment. 'Nature' is a word that is used frequently within everyday language. However, as Raymond Williams once noted, the term 'is perhaps the most complex in the [English] language,' (1983: 219 quoted in Demeritt 2002: 777). Demeritt (2002) argues that the ambiguity of the term 'nature' is closely linked to the increasing prevalence within the literature (particularly social science literature) of approaches which examine 'nature' as being socially constructed. This section explores the ways in which 'nature' and 'culture' have become dichotomous concepts through the ambiguity of the terms before looking at how more recently academics have sought to explore a more hybrid understanding of the two concepts.

‘Nature’ and ‘culture’ can often be regarded as ontologically dichotomous concepts. Some are keen to illustrate that within academia (Castree 1995; Whatmore 2002) and within policy the two concepts are instead inextricably linked and in fact should not be considered as dichotomous but as hybrid concepts (Whatmore 2002). As with defining landscape, when trying to define ‘nature’, the complexity of the concept becomes apparent, as illustrated by the following definitions by Raymond Williams (1983: 219, cited in Demeritt 2002: 777):

1. The essential quality or character of something;

2. An inherent force that determines and directs the world, human beings or both;

3. The tangible, material world itself.

The interlinked definitions highlight an important ontological question, what is ‘nature’? Answering this question, however, can be approached from multiple angles and can often highlight the different epistemological traditions between the sciences and the arts (Whatmore 2002; Whatmore 1999).

Whatmore (2005: 9) identifies two traditions of academic work concerning the social construction of nature, the Marxist tradition of ‘productive nature’ and a cultural geography perspective that focuses on the ‘changing idea of nature’. The Marxist perspective of nature has identified that ‘nature’ is regarded as a commodity under capitalism (see Castree 2008b; Castree 2008a; Castree 1995). Furthermore, Castree (1995) suggests that the interaction between people and nature has changed at different times in human history from hunter-gatherer to post-industrial societies (Whatmore 2005). Katz (1998: 46) argues that ‘the practical engagement with the external world ... under capitalism [has] operated as if nature were [a] given, a free good or source of wealth, an unlimited bounty awaiting only the “hand of man” to turn it into a bundle of resources.’ Post 1970, however, Katz argues that ‘nature changed’ due to the increase in environmental movements, decolonisation and the oil shock in 1973 that raised the awareness that nature would not be ‘eternally available’ for the consumptive lifestyle of the developed West. This example by Katz illustrates the productive dimension of ‘nature’ and the changing interaction between people and ‘nature’ that has occurred. In contrast to this the cultural geography perspective of ‘nature’ is how people perceive it and is therefore closely linked to economics, social processes and culture. Nature is no

longer just flora and fauna (or ecology) but is also inherently linked to how people try and understand the world around them. From this perspective Whatmore (2005: 12) identifies that the 'natural world is understood to be shaped as powerfully by the human imagination as by physical manipulation'.

The separation between 'nature' and 'people/society' can be recognised in some areas within academia, see for example the epistemological distinction within geography between human and physical geography (Fitzsimmons 2004; Whatmore 1999), despite it being described as a 'bridging science' (Castree & MacMillan 2001). Likewise Whatmore (1999) identifies the questions highlighted by Margaret Fitzsimmons (1989: 106) on the 'peculiar silence on the question of nature'. Specifically Fitzsimmons critiques the 'radical' geographers (predominantly Marxist at the time) that theorised space without nature, with a few exceptions. Three reasons for this are identified, 'the institutional separation of human and physical geographies, the ontological separation of nature and space in human geography and the urban bias of the intellectual culture' (cited in Whatmore 1999: 22). Warren (2009) identifies this as a Cartesian separation between 'rational culture', whereby people are seen as able to manipulate nature for short-term material gains, from 'irrational nature' which has no apparent sense of control. The implications of such a separation, in relation to this research, is the hierarchical positioning which places 'culture' and therefore people above 'nature' that should, therefore, be managed and controlled in line with the more 'rational' culture rather than regarding it as more interconnected.

This separation, however, is one that is beginning to be challenged within academia. Tim Ingold (1995a:58, cited in Whatmore 1999: 25) claims that such a distinction has undermined the potential for a more creative relationship between people and nature: '[s]omething must be wrong somewhere, if the only way to understand our own creative involvement in the world is by taking ourselves out of it.' Most notably the work of Sarah Whatmore (2002; 1999) has begun to challenge this with calls for a 'hybrid' perspective to approaching the 'nature' question, one that challenges the traditional objectivity which separates people from 'nature'. Such a perspective has emerged, Hayles (1995: 48) has argued from:

> 'feminist challenges of scientific objectivity, the rethinking of the importance of embodiment among certain cognitive scientists, the emphasis on interconnectedness in ecology and the recognition in anthropology of the

> complex ways in which physical environments, embodiment, discourse and ideology collaborate to create a world' (see also Whatmore 1999; Ingold 2000; Tilley 1994; Tilley & Bennett 2004).

In response to such an interconnected view of people and nature Hayles poses the challenge that people know the world not because they are separate from it but because they are connected to it, meaning that it is through experiencing and interacting with the spaces around them that people are then able to 'know' the world (Hayles, 1995). This provides a theoretical understanding of the reciprocal relationship between people and 'nature' that is increasingly emphasised within contemporary environmental policy as will be explored further in the following chapter.

Arguing for the need to see humans and nature as connected, rather than as separate, Castree & Braun (1998) argue that nature is becoming increasingly 'made' by people through the commodification of environmental resources. This includes the tangible - including logging and mining – and the promotion of intangible and aesthetic qualities of landscapes for tourism or through the growth in 'third nature'[11] (Wark, 1992 cited in Castree & Braun 1998: 3). Castree (2008a and 2008b) furthers this argument through a discussion of the 'neoliberalising of nature'. In particular Castree (2008a: 159) identifies in conjunction with Bakker (2005) that the different aspects of 'neoliberalised nature' can be seen through the 'privatisation, commercialisation and commodification' of 'nature' and/or 'natural resources'. Within this neoliberal approach to nature, however, lies a paradox. Nature is considered both central to the existence of contemporary society and yet through such a relationship people can become separated from nature as it is given no intrinsic values, only a monetary market value. This separation has led some to question the resilience of societies, particularly in relation to potential climate change as the interlinked relationship between 'nature' and 'society' becomes much more apparent.

Similarly, the changing perceptions of people living with(in) nature also illustrates the changing understanding of people being somehow separate from nature. Edward Said's (1978) concepts of 'orientalism' and the 'other' provide a means through which to engage with the perception and representation of those living with(in) nature. In imperialist perspectives those living in more ''remote', wild' or 'spiritually uplifting'

[11] Third nature is the concept of constructed nature through simulating nature and landscapes through what is now regarded as 'everyday' technology; media, computer games and the use of Geographic Information Systems that manipulate 'data' about nature into visual information.

places were ennobled and exoticized as uncorrupted peoples, repositories of tradition and value' (Toogood 2003: 156). Furthermore Sibley (1995: 102) highlights that representations of social groups that lived closer to nature played on the nostalgia for 'harmonising with nature' in a way that was no longer deemed possible in the rapidly industrialising societies of the western world[12]. Concurrently with this romanticised and nostalgic view, however, are broader 'civilised' and 'racialised' world-view discourses (Anderson 2008). Within 'civilised' Western countries the rapidly industrialising and urban centres were at the forefront of this progression of society and all those that were not part of that society were regarded as 'uncivilised' or racially inferior. Consequently, those who were deemed inside or closer to nature were seen as hierarchically and/or evolutionarily lower than those who had managed to overcome and manipulate 'nature' to meet people's needs so that their lives were no longer controlled by the processes and timings of nature (Sibley 1995; Watts 2004). Furthermore, through this conflicting process of 'othering' those social groups deemed closer to nature, the places associated with them became 'functionally 'unreal': they became places of escape' (Toogood 2003: 156) for those living outwith these areas (Sibley 1995). Consequently nature became an imagined place as well as existing physically. The implications of such understandings is the broader culturally embedded values held for landscapes regarded as 'unreal' are given greater value for their perceptions of being places of escape. The Highlands of Scotland are an example of this, with the area being perceived as such as such since the Victorian era and the 'Balmorality' effect, as discussed in section 2.2.2. If cultural values are to be incorporated within landscape management then there is also a need to explore the means through which these values have become to be culturally embedded within some stakeholders but not to others, especially where these landscapes are not only places of escape for some but where others live and work. The potential tension that could arise as a consequence of these different cultural values is explored further in chapter 3.

2.4.2 Spatialization of nature

There are those that would argue that, due to the world being a closed system, the actions of human development have been felt across the globe and consequently there is no landscape that has not been influenced by human actions either directly or indirectly (Budiansky 1995). Even landscapes that are represented as being pristine or wilderness

[12] See parallels to the discussion on the nostalgic Highland gaze discussed in section 2.2.2 and critiquing the 'landscape gaze in 2.2.3.

are more often highly managed landscapes, such as National Parks (Budiansky 1995; Cronon 1995b). Cronon (1995a) has written on the iconic, 'wilderness' landscapes of the American West and states that it is a human invention that has seen this dichotomy between nature and humans widen. For Cronon the idea of wilderness is a complex one as, despite being in agreement with those that describe these landscapes as offering something intangible and non-human, he claims that it is cultural values that brought (and still bring) people to these landscapes and to value them so highly.

Current geographical understandings of the spatialization of nature involve notions of 'territory, place, boundary, inclusion, [and] confinement,' (Watts 2004: 49). All of this suggests that nature is somehow a distinct area with clear boundaries around it separating it from the surrounding area. Such discursive notions as these when used in relation to nature highlight the response of people to understanding nature and their resultant experience of nature. For example, territories are understood through the boundaries that are placed around them – politically, physically, socially and/or culturally – which can thus result in some being included and/or confined within that space. Watts (2004) argues that the preference towards 'enclosure' of nature through the creation of boundaries since the second half of the 18th Century 'wrought a sort of confinement, dispossession, incarceration, privatisation and social transformation all at once.' No longer was there a shared commons on which people could graze their animals and so Watts argues the relationship and experience of nature by people changed. Primarily this change in the relationship is considered as a change in the ownership and therefore responsibility that people had for the land as the maintenance of the land was not directly related to the survival of the individual using it. In Scotland this change marks a point in history that still features prominently within contemporary political debate, due to the displacement and eviction of a large proportion of the rural Highland population by the lairds who owned the land for more profitable sheep and cattle grazing (McKee *et al.* 2013). Crofters were thus marginalised onto less productive coastal areas. This also coincided with the industrialisation of Scottish cities and the greater mechanisation of the agricultural sector which introduced enclosure to Scotland. The removal of the common grazings by some land owners 'undermined the rights of the local communities' forcing them to rely on the land owners for their livelihoods (*ibid.*: 65). This fostered a more 'paternalistic' character to the relationship between laird and community population (*ibid.*). This history with the land remains within

contemporary political and social debates and is 'elemental in community awareness' (MacDonald 1998: 239; see also McKee *et al.* 2013; Warren & McKee 2011).

Massey (2005) identifies that the spatialisation of nature is interlinked with the notion that nature is regarded as static, suggesting that change is perceived to happen slowly, if at all and therefore 'nature' is regarded as remaining in a constant state. Within the human timescale this may hold relatively true with landscapes providing a base from which human society can develop its continuously expanding infrastructure. However with exponential growth in human populations there is greater pressure on the same resources from the landscapes (Palmer *et al*. 2004). Burgess (1993: 51) also attributes the view of nature and landscapes to the capacity of the mass media and communication technologies to 'collapse space' and 'speed up time' and so consequently in contrast those landscapes designated and perceived as 'natural' become symbols of stability. In particular, 'dominant' features of landscapes such as mountains and large rivers are likely to show little change comparative to 'urban' or more 'human' landscapes that can change on a much shorter timescale. Consequently static views of nature become the dominant perspective of landscapes (Antonson 2009) and can be reflected in the designation of these areas through 'protected area' management strategies[13].

Budiansky (1995: 18) suggests that certain landscapes hold 'cultural taboos' meaning that they are regarded by people to be 'pristine' and therefore should not be developed but protected to be as they are. This static view of landscapes raises a management tension between preservation and conservation – a preservationist approach to management maintains ecosystems, habitats and/or a conservationist approach that sees landscapes in a particular state that must (and do) change. Consequently management – and those who are involved with management – can often have varied priorities, interests and motivations that will influence the management of an area (Warren 2009).

2.5 Summary and key themes

This chapter aimed to show the ways in which academic discourse has developed around the concept of 'landscape'. The binary tensions identified by Wylie (2007), Macdonald (2002) and Macdonald (2008) were used to contextualise and frame the discussions. It drew in particular on work within cultural geography moving from the visual, landscape gaze articulated by Cosgrove (1984) and Cosgrove and Daniels (1988)

[13] Landscape designation will be discussed in further detail in chapter 3.

to the more embodied and emotional approaches to landscape, drawing particularly on Ingold's (2000) notion of 'dwelling'. The critique by Massey (2006) was identified, however, that emphasised both approaches to landscape privileged the past and that landscape should be considered as a fluid, dynamic concept with multiple trajectories both to the past and the future.

The chapter ended by specifically looking at the nature/culture discourses that underlie much of the previous discussions. This led to highlighting Whatmore's (2002) more hybrid understanding of 'nature' and 'culture' whereby people are not separated from but nor are they placed above 'nature'. This is contrasted with the more 'traditional' spatialisation of nature that has been practiced. Here 'nature' is placed within boundaries and people removed metaphorically, though not always, from those areas. The following chapter uses the themes from this chapter to critically explore landscape policy and management practices and therefore frame the wider work of the thesis. Parallels will be drawn between the discussions here and the rhetoric and discourses of landscape management.

3 Landscape and culture in Scotland: a policy perspective

3.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to critically discuss landscape management, with a specific focus on the Scottish policy context. Using the themes identified throughout the previous chapter and the tensions identified by Wylie (2007), Macdonald (2002) and Macdonald (2008) this chapter will explore the ways in which parallels can be drawn between conceptual discussions around landscape and landscape policy discourses. The first section provides further depth to the European Landscape Convention and the Land Use Strategy which have formed the framework for the policy context of this research (section 3.2). This is then followed by a discussion of different management approaches, with a particular focus on landscape characterisation (Landscape Character Assessment), and the process of landscape designation, specifically, National Scenic Areas and Wild Land designations (section 3.3). The importance of greater participation of different stakeholders within policy and management development and implementation is then discussed with a focus on the issues of cultural value, governance, participation and land ownership (section 3.4). This section also provides further information about the increasing prevalence of Landscape Partnership Schemes that bring together a number of landscape stakeholders to manage the landscape. The chapter ends with a summary of the key challenges that arise through exploring this policy perspective and the need for a methodological approach that can explore these issues in relation to the theoretical and conceptual challenges raised in chapter 2 (section 3.5).

3.2 The policy perspective: the European Landscape Convention and the Scottish Land Use Strategy

As noted in chapter 1, there has been a shift in recent years in landscape management policy to a more ‘inclusive’ rhetoric, stressing the importance of all landscape types and the inclusion of all stakeholders within the management process. The two policies that greatly influenced the development of this research for this study, the European Landscape Convention and Scottish Land Use Strategy, exemplify much of this rhetoric change. The following two sections critically explore the European Landscape Convention (section 3.2.1) and the Land Use Strategy (section 3.2.2) to provide the context of the current policy discourse with regards to landscape (and land) management within Scotland.

3.2.1 The European Landscape Convention: a focus on landscapes

The European Landscape Convention (ELC) has helped to inform landscape policy across Europe. This section focusses on three main areas of the policy that have an impact on this research, first, the definition of 'landscape' by the ELC and the implications of the use of this definition for landscape management, second, the role of 'culture' within the policy and finally the emphasis placed on greater stakeholder participation.

> 'Landscape means an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors' (Council of Europe, 2000a, Article 1 emphasis added).

The ELC definition of landscape encompasses the experiences and perceptions of people in the landscape as well as the physical terrain that helps to determine the character of the landscape (Olwig, 2007; Scottish Landscape Forum 2007). The definition is relatively broad. Butler & Åkerskog (2014: 442) highlight that this could result in a more disparate understanding of landscape whilst simultaneously such vagueness could allow more cross- and inter-disciplinary working due to the 'openness to interpretation' that it has. Consequently at the European level, this policy is regarded as being flexible with the perceived ability to cross cultural and disciplinary boundaries, encouraging a more fluid definition of landscape. Yet with this ambiguity comes contention when policy is then practiced differently in different countries. Concern has been raised that the diversity of concepts for landscape – the previous chapter similarly identified this issue – and the ambiguity of the definition is resulting in 'landscape' being considered a 'fuzzy subject' and 'lacking any explicit champion' when implemented within a country (Scott 2011: 2758).

The ELC definition also highlights the increasing awareness of – and importance placed on – the cultural heritage that has helped to shape the physical terrain (Scazzosi 2004). This is also reflected in Article 5a of the Convention which states:

> 'Each party undertakes:
>
> a. To recognise landscapes in law as an essential component of people's surroundings, an expression of the diversity of their shared cultural and natural heritage, and a foundation of their identity' (Council of Europe 2000a, Chapter II, Article 5a).

Olwig (1996: 430-431) argues that to prevent landscapes becoming '"flickering" iconographic text' they should be given a 'substantive meaning ... as a place of human habitation and environmental interaction ... a nexus of community, justice, nature and environmental equity.' This has parallels with the discussions in the previous chapter in relation to the nature/culture tension. The above quotation that explicitly states that the ELC 'recognise[s] landscapes in law' is therefore significant (Olwig 2007). As argued by Julie Martin Associates & Swanwick (2003) this recognition by law raises the profile of landscape which has otherwise been regarded as the 'poor relation' amongst other environmental issues. The implementation of the policy into practice, therefore, may in turn influence perceptions of landscapes, with implications for the way they are experienced as a result of how they are managed.

The ELC also reflects the greater importance placed on the role of stakeholders within the implementation of the policy, arguing signatories should develop:

> 'procedures for the participation of the general public, local and regional authorities, and other parties with an interest in the definition and implementation of the landscape' (Council of Europe 2000a, Chapter II, Article 5c).

Emphasis is placed on bottom-up approaches through encouraging the involvement of not only management organisations that have an interest in the landscape but also the 'general public', promoting greater recognition for local community knowledge of the landscape. Furthermore, the policy rhetoric suggests that all individuals have valued knowledge of landscapes and therefore an equal claim to articulate that knowledge (Butler & Åkerskog 2014; Jones 2007). Articles 5 and 6 of the ELC detail the importance of participation with landscape stakeholders during the development and implementation of managing the landscape (Council of Europe 2000a). Yet the ELC explanatory report (Council of Europe 2000b) does not provide specific detail on the means through which to encourage wider public participation, only reiterating the importance of facilitating this (Olwig 2007). Scott (2011) has argued that with this turn in the rhetoric there is the potential for the use of more innovative methods through which to engage the general public and so in turn manage the landscape. This research is therefore highly timely as it explores the potential of emerging methods – such as walking interviews and arts-based methods – and considers how to provide the space through which stakeholders can then engage more broadly with landscape management.

The ELC keenly stresses that management must be cross border (Council of Europe 2000b Chapter II, Article 29):

> '... Europe's landscapes are of value in various ways to all Europeans. They are cherished outside the locality and beyond national borders [...] landscapes bear the consequences, whether positive or negative, of processes which may originate elsewhere and whose impact is not checked by national boundaries.'

Such a statement in relation to the participation of stakeholders potentially expands greatly who would be considered as a stakeholder. It suggests that all European landscapes are of importance to the European people. Likewise, it also suggests that landscapes are not confined within borders but are at a much larger scale. The implications of this could result in a number of tensions between stakeholders that are more directly impacted, such as local residents, and stakeholders that may be indirectly impacted, such as visitors or those with an interest in the landscape[14]. Similarly there is no provision as to which 'values' may be considered of greater importance than others, consequently all values would be valid and so in some way need to be incorporated within the management strategy. The ELC does go on further to suggest concurrently, however, that it remains the role of the nation state to implement the convention 'within their own legal arrangements ... [and that] implementation should fit in as comfortably as possible with that country's traditions' (Council of Europe 2000b, Ch. II, Art. 34). There is therefore scope built in within the ELC for nations to develop policy based on principles set out within the convention. The Scottish Government's Land Use Strategy (LUS) is one of the most recent developments within policy in Scotland regarding the use of land and how land and landscapes should be managed and protected with reference to the principles of the ELC and it will now be outlined.

3.2.2 The Land Use Strategy: a focus on the land as resource

The Land Use Strategy (LUS) is a means for the Scottish Government to deliver and meet the objectives of the ELC and the Climate Change (Scotland) Act 2009[15]. It draws

[14] A discussion on stakeholders is given in section 3.4 and will specifically look at the difference between 'communities of place' and 'communities of interest', highlighting the tension between such a distinction and the desire for greater participation.

[15] The Climate Change (Scotland) Act is part of the Scottish Government's broader environmental agenda and plans for more sustainable economic growth. The Act focusses particularly on setting targets for reducing greenhouse gas emissions as well as 'transitioning to a low carbon economy' (Scottish Government 2012). The Act is not discussed as part of this research but does highlight the broader environmental policy agenda with often interlinking policies.

on the principles of global goals for sustainable development (Scottish Government 2011) thus highlighting the broader, international policy rhetoric that trickles through to national policy. Similar to the previous section on the ELC, this section focusses on three main areas of the LUS policy that are influential for this research. Firstly the discussion explores the definition of the LUS, in particular, the use of 'land' as opposed to 'landscape'. Secondly, the role of 'culture' within the policy and finally the emphasis placed on greater stakeholder participation.

The focus of the LUS is on 'land' rather than landscape particularly, yet both of the policies – the ELC and LUS – call for similar outcomes. It is worth briefly exploring how the two words have been defined as this can provide insights into the approach the management is taking. Swanwick (2009: 63) defines 'land' as being 'both the earth or the soil and the solid portion of the Earth's surface.' With reference to the '10 principles of sustainable land use' that form the guidelines for the LUS policy, 'land' is often used similarly:

> 'Where land is highly suitable for a primary use (for example food production, flood management, water catchment management and carbon storage) this value should be recognised in decision-making' (Scottish Government 2011: 4).

The use of 'land' in the above quotation refers to a physical portion of land and what the land has that can be utilised. There is also reference to a value being placed on these 'uses' rather than on the land in and of itself. There is no specific reference as to whether this is a monetary value or not. In comparison 'landscape' is referred to in the following way:

> 'Landscape change should be managed positively and sympathetically, considering the implications of change at a scale appropriate to the landscape in question, given that all Scotland's landscapes are important to our sense of identity and to our individual and social well-being' (Scottish Government 2011: 4).

In comparison to the use of 'land', 'landscape' has parallels to the definition within the ELC. There is emphasis placed on more perceptual and intangible qualities, such as referring to a 'sense of identity' and the influence it has on 'well-being', thus referring to more therapeutic notions of landscape. There is also a reference to there being more collective responses to landscape with regards to broader 'social well-being'. This raises

particular questions around the language that is being used within management policies and the potential confusion that may arise as a result. Throughout the policy document terms such as 'land', 'land-use' and 'landscape' are all used, not necessarily interchangeably but all are interconnected.

The LUS is based around three main areas, namely economic prosperity, environmental quality and communities (Scottish Government 2011). There is a link made between the 'health' of a landscape and providing for the well-being of people. Yet despite this, when critiquing the language used, there is an underlying theme that management of the land and landscapes are primarily developed for the benefit of people. The value of the land in and of itself is somewhat undermined as it is often not the lifestyle of people that is deemed in need of change in order to gain more from the land. Instead it is how landscapes are managed to allow people to maintain the lifestyle that they have come to expect, as for example the following quotation discusses:

> 'It may be that to continue to receive the benefits that we currently do, we will need to adapt the way that we manage the land' (Scottish Government 2011: 21).

Considering the implications of this, the language of value, particularly cultural value, is important. Exploring culturally embedded perceptions could help to explore the relationship between people and the landscape and therefore how it could then be managed for both people and the land[16].

The quotations already used throughout this section have hinted towards the emphasis being placed by the Scottish Government on greater participation within the LUS. The discussion now turns to the role of participation, in particular the ways in which the use of individual and collective identity, community and an emphasis on greater social responsibility is emphasised throughout the LUS document. The following quotation from the LUS clearly highlights these points:

> 'There needs [sic] to be opportunities for all communities (whether rural or urban) to find out about how land is used, to understand the issues, to have an appropriate voice in debates and where possible to get involved in managing land themselves' (Scottish Government 2011: 28).

[16] A discussion on 'cultural value' is given in section 3.4.1.

There is an assumption made here that the 'communities' involved are a united, homogenous group of individuals that have the same beliefs and values. The concept of community has been well critiqued by geographers (see for example Staeheli 2008). Taylor Aiken (2014: 212) argues – using the Scottish Government's Climate Challenge Fund – that use of 'community' in a loosely defined way in environmental policies can result in an assumed norm of community as 'topological, territorial, local, rural and reified.' The participatory rhetoric of the LUS, such as in the quotation above, could be argued to be shifting responsibility of landscape from the Scottish Government but to local communities. These critiques of the use of 'community' and their implications for more participatory landscape management will be explored further in section 3.4. This, however, does raise questions for this research as to how participants identify themselves as being part of a unified 'community' and the extent to which this is a means through which it may or may not help to facilitate more participation and whether this is something that is actually desired by participants.

A recent report by Phillips *et al.* (2014) evaluated the implementation of the LUS within eleven case study areas. One finding with significance for this research was that the translation of the policy into practice was implicit rather than explicit. This is similar to the critique of the ELC as detailed above, that there is a lack of specific tools through which to meet the guidelines of the policies provided. This was attributed to being unable to 'separate out the direct influence of the LUS over and above existing sustainable land use/management practice' (*ibid.*: 3). One of the emerging themes, therefore, on applying the LUS principles was related to scale and creating policy 'stepping stones' between the national level LUS and practical land management 'on the ground' (*ibid.*: 4). The implications of this for this research is how these different scales within the management are then able to translate the different values of all the stakeholders involved and the extent to which participants feel able to engage with a potentially complex policy.

Both the ELC and LUS with their definitions of landscape and land exemplify the current shift within landscape policy. Landscape is not only a visual concept but now incorporates more intangible qualities around identity, emotions and experiences that help to form notions of landscape (Stobbelaar & Pedroli 2011). Throughout the LUS document the use of words such as 'our environment' and 'our quality of life' fosters a sense of a stronger relationship between people and landscape and therefore a more

collaborative approach to land and landscape management as well as suggesting/assuming the existence of shared values and interests. As with the ELC, the LUS expresses a push for participation between all landscape 'stakeholders' in relation to the management. Within this participatory turn, however, is a greater sense of shared responsibility. Landscape is therefore not only the responsibility of governments and landscape practitioners, but of all people. Warren (2009: 3) argues that land is the 'backcloth' to the lives of people and consequently all people – to a lesser or greater extent – have a relationship with the land:

> 'Land is the most basic resource of all and is unlike any other commodity ... It is sacred to a few, useful to some, loved by many, taken for granted by most. All of us, by default, have a stake in the land...' (Warren 2009: 45).

Such a statement as that above highlights the complexity of relationships and entanglements between people, land and landscapes that management practices must then begin to untangle.

These sections aimed to provide an overview of the two policies that aided the development of this research. They have provided the policy context within which this research sits. Though positive in their aspirations to encourage a more inclusive approach to landscape management it has been highlighted that this can often be harder to achieve in practice. A further element to this is the role of landscape management practices already in place within a country. Through exploring the principles of the LUS, however, there remain certain challenges with existing policies and management practices. Although the LUS explicitly states the ELC as part of the principles it must be used in conjunction with landscape designation that have been and remain central to management strategies and practices. Yet as Scott (2014) has identified specifically in relation to the ELC, designation hierarchies already in place can often conflict with the interests of the principles of the ELC. The following section now considers these current management practices that are already in place within Scotland to help manage the landscapes.

3.3 Policy into practice: Landscape Character Assessment and landscape designation

The policies outlined above identified (Scottish) national and European perspectives on how government agendas wish to manage the landscape. Yet as was identified this can often be difficult to achieve in practice due to multiple policies that they must work

between. Management practices aim to reflect and address objectives set out in such policies. This section highlights two predominant ways in which landscapes are managed within Scotland. The landscape character assessment (LCA) is focussed on first (section 3.3.1), followed by landscape designation, in particularly focussing on National Scenic Areas (NSAs) and Wild Land[17], both of which designate land based on the distinctive character of landscapes (section 3.3.2).

3.3.1 Characterising the landscape

Landscape Character Assessment (LCA) is a standard methodology through which landscape variety is identified, described, classified and mapped (Scottish Natural Heritage 2014a). It is used throughout Europe and is a tool that has been used to help countries to meet the objectives of the ELC (Butler & Åkerskog 2014). The use of the LCA methodology is intended to assist landscape managers in explaining what makes one landscape different from another and provides a baseline of information to help guide landscape change through development plans, strategies and proposals (Scottish Natural Heritage 2014a). This section explains the methodology in further detail and highlights the implications it has for this research.

A guidance document has been written outlining the process of the LCA methodology, specifically for the UK (Swanwick 2002). Within the guidance document is a similar definition of landscape to the one used within the ELC which describes landscape as:

> '…the relationship between people and place … the setting for our day-to-day lives … People's perceptions turn land into the concept of landscape' (Swanwick 2002: 2-3).

The definition explicitly distinguishes between land and landscape, referring to land as a physical and material object compared to a more intangible and perceptual definition of landscape. Such a distinction made within policy could once again raise a level of ambiguity around what is actually being managed and could also diminish the importance of 'landscape' within broader environmental policy as argued above by Olwig (2007) and Julie Martin Associates & Swanwick (2003). If land is consistently defined within policy as the physical material that is being managed then the more nuanced, subjective and experiential qualities that are being recognised within policy

[17] Both NSAs and the Wild Land designations are specific to Scotland rather than being UK wide like the Landscape Character Assessment. England, Wales and Northern Ireland do have a similar designation to the NSAs, namely the 'Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty' (National Association for AONB 2014).

may not be translated into management practice. Instead there is the potential that policy and practice will maintain the embedded cultural norms as identified in the previous chapter that maintain a separation between people and landscape. The LCA is at least an attempt to avoid this separation in practice.

Landscape character is defined as 'the distinct and recognizable pattern of elements that occur consistently in a certain type of landscape' (Swanwick 2003: 111). Scott & Shannon (2007) highlight that the focus given to 'character' in understanding the landscape is to provide planners with 'greater confidence' to defend any proposed policies, particularly in landscapes where both development pressures and landscape value are high. Used for all landscapes it provides information on the current landscape, how it evolved and could change in the future under current management strategies. Swanwick (2002) indicates it should be used to ensure that change and development does not undermine whatever is 'characteristic' or 'valued' about any particular landscape and that ways of improving the character of a place are considered. Furthermore, Swanwick argues that the LCA provides a legislative framework to assess objectively the ecological and cultural aspects of a landscape whilst maintaining elements of subjectivity. This, she argues, is done both transparently and systematically to allow the method to be transferrable and repeatable in any landscape making it a valuable tool for landscape management policy and practice (*ibid*.). Concern has been raised by Butler & Åkerskog (2014), however, that the guidelines and supporting literature are now over ten years old and despite being informed by best practice at the time, it could be argued that it does not reflect contemporary approaches and values.

Caspersen (2009) has highlighted that originally the LCA was primarily a professional process, being carried out for and by professional landscape managers/policy makers thus conflicting with the more participative principles of both the ELC and the LUS. As has been recognised within regional and global environmental policy, however, importance is increasingly being placed on greater involvement of different stakeholders – including non-specialists – within the management of landscapes, in both the development of strategies and in their implementation. Butler & Åkerskog (2014), Sevenant & Antrop (2010) and Caspersen (2009) indicate, from research in England, Belgium and Denmark respectively, that despite an apparent acceptance and desire for greater local stakeholder involvement in the LCA process, this remains primarily as rhetoric rather than common practice and when undertaken is done in a top-down way.

Consequently, 'landscape' and especially landscape management can still be seen as a 'professional' domain creating an environment in which people do not feel that they can express their own values of the landscape (Butler & Åkerskog 2014; Scott 2011). This undermines the inclusive rhetoric of both the ELC and LUS and so in turn challenges the extent to which more participative management practice can be achieved. This research, therefore, wishes to address this methodological challenge by introducing approaches and methods that potentially encourage multiple stakeholders to participate within management *and* that incorporate the diverse voices of those stakeholders.

The LCA method identifies the 'official' characters of landscapes that are then used to help landscape managers to determine management plans. It is a management practice that has guidelines on how to involve stakeholders within the process – (Swanwick *et al.* 2002) – yet in practice this remains difficult to achieve. This emphasises the challenge of encouraging greater participation and the ability for the principles of the ELC and LUS to be achieved. As Phillips *et al.* (2014) and Scott (2014) have identified the explicit use of the ELC and LUS within management practices remains relatively small due to the number of different practices that are in place. There is, therefore, a need to understand a range of means whereby landscapes in Scotland are being managed. As previously identified there are landscape designations which protect landscapes based on its character and 'special' qualities through policy. The following section critically examines the role of landscape designations as a practice of landscape management.

3.3.2 Landscape designation and the protected areas approach

The 'protected area' management approach is the most widely used across Scotland[18] and the UK as a whole. Warren (2009) identifies that over a quarter of land in Scotland is covered by some form of designation. There are 24 protected area designations in Scotland for both land and marine environments and individually these designations all have their own rationales (Scottish Natural Heritage 2013). Designations can be implemented from an international, national and local level (*ibid.*). Warren (2009) argues, however, that there is still much overlap and confusion between the different

[18] Scottish Natural Heritage (2010b) also indicate that 'broader measures' are used in conjunction with the protected area approach. These are largely European Directives, such as the 'Water Framework Directive' and the 'Environmental Liability Directive' and also on a national scale the 'Scotland Rural Development Programme'.

designations and that many sites can have multiple designations, particularly as new policies and designations are developed. This section will firstly outline and critique the designation of National Scenic Areas, a designation that specifically aims to distinguish landscapes of national importance for their scenic qualities, and secondly Wild Land, a designation that directly raises the tension between landscape, nature and cultural heritage.

National Scenic Areas (NSAs) have been in place since 1980 and represent landscapes nationally recognised for their scenic qualities in Scotland (Scottish Natural Heritage 2010a). There are 40 NSAs within Scotland covering 13% of the country (Scottish Natural Heritage 2014c), see Figure 3-1. NSAs specifically promote and place importance on the visual qualities of landscape. They reflect in particular a tradition within landscape protection whereby 'nature' is protected from a primarily aesthetic point of view (the 'scenic'). There is an assumption that through designating landscapes based on aesthetics that these qualities are easily recognisable and identifiable but there has been a lack of pre-definition of what these special qualities are or how to identify them (David Tyldesley and Associates 2007). The implications of this, as identified with the ELC and LUS, is that there is greater chance of inconsistency of designation and the potential for one view of what is a 'special' landscape to be predominant. Furthermore, some of the 'special qualities' of these NSAs have not been explained or updated since 1978 when the NSAs were first outlined within the document 'Scotland's Scenic Heritage'. Scottish Natural Heritage (2010c) provides a more up-to-date explanation of these qualities. The report outlines the method used as developed by David Tyldesley and Associates (2007). It should be noted, however, that the Scottish Natural Heritage (2010c: 3) report clearly states that an assumption is made that:

> '… as the National Scenic Areas had previously been identified as worthy of a national designation, all the NSAs did have special qualities of national merit. The work also made the assumption that the qualities were contained within the existing NSA boundaries, and fieldwork was confined to these.'

Therefore these NSA designations still maintain the boundaries that were originally put in place, only reflecting the values of landscape managers, over 30 years ago. Once again the issue is raised that the inclusive management practices desired by policies such as the ELC and LUS must be done within boundaries and designations that pre-date these measures.

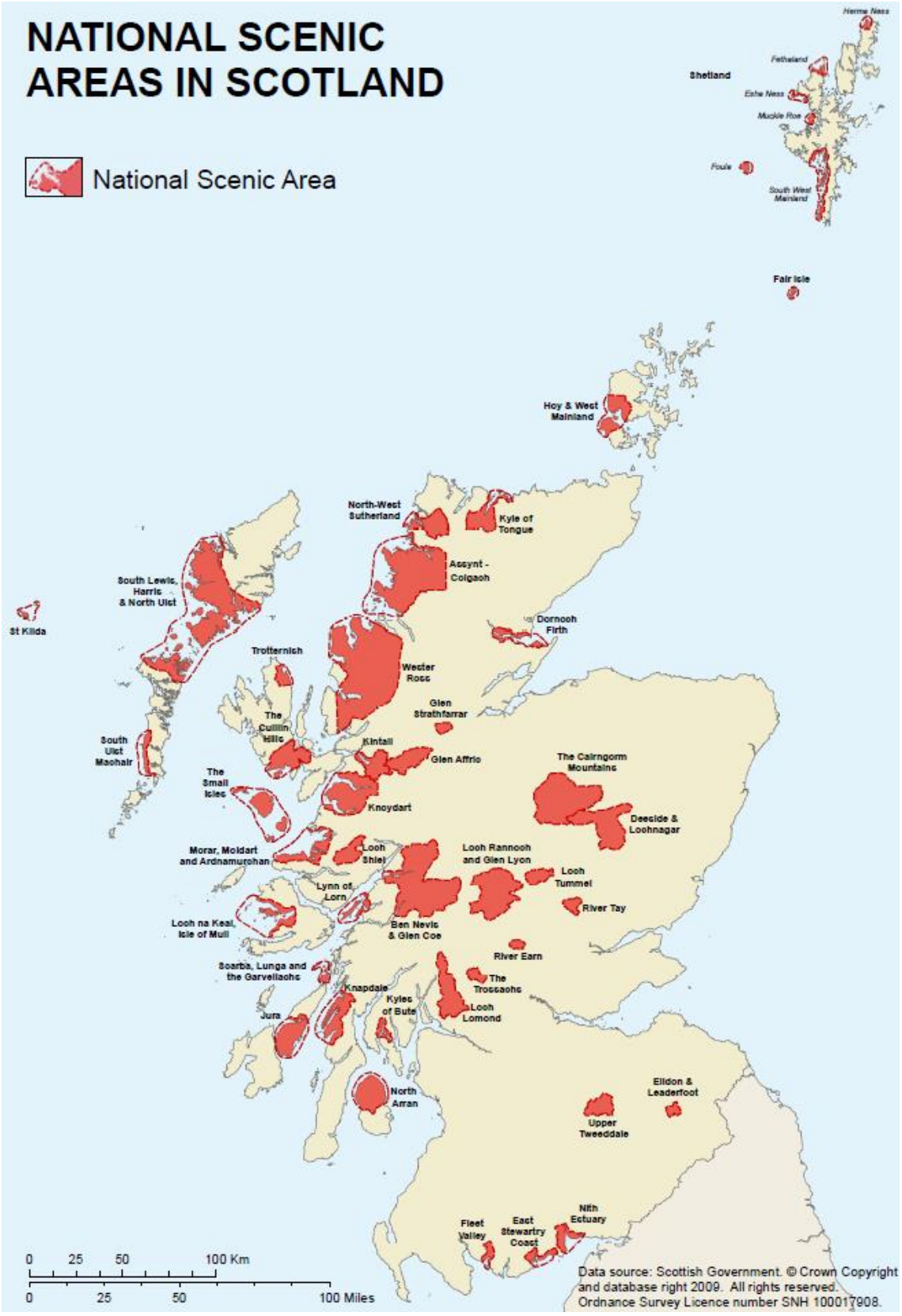


Figure 3-1: Designated National Scenic Areas in Scotland. The case study areas for this research both fall under a NSA as highlighted in chapter 1. Source of map: Scottish Natural Heritage (2010a). For an interactive version of the map see Scottish Natural Heritage (2014c).

In contrast, the Wild Land Policy within Scotland was introduced more recently to safeguard '…largely semi-natural landscapes [that] show minimal signs of human influence … These wild and remote areas have a distinct and special character, which is increasingly rare to find' (Scottish Natural Heritage 2014d). Unlike the NSAs, Wild Land is not a statutory designation. The Wild Land Policy was introduced in 2002 with the policy document 'Wildness in Scotland's Countryside' (Scottish Natural Heritage 2002). At this stage the primary policy support for wild land was largely through the NSA designation which covered much of the now designated wild land areas and wild character is often recognised in the descriptions of the NSAs (Scottish Natural Heritage 2002). In June 2014[19] a map of Wild Land was produced (Figure 3-2) after a three phase process:

- Phase 1 – the application of GIS analysis to map the relative wildness of Scotland based on four measurable physical attributes, 'perceived naturalness', 'ruggedness of terrain', 'remoteness from public roads' and 'visible lack of buildings, roads, pylons and other modern artefacts'.
- Phase 2 – analysing the data to establish a map of core areas of wild land, identifying the largest and most wild areas.
- Phase 3 – using 'informed judgement' to select the areas identified in phase 2 as meriting wild land character designation and defining their extent (Scottish Natural Heritage 2014b).

Both Applecross and Assynt have part of their areas now designated as Wild Land and both are part of a broader NSA area (Figure 1-2). This has implications for this research to explore the ways in which these designations impact on the experiences of research participants, what cultural values are being prioritised and how the landscapes are managed. The term 'wildness' in the policy document, however, is often described as a quality of experience that a landscape encourages, as the following quotation illustrates:

> 'The appreciation of wildness is a matter of an individual's experience, and their perceptions of and preferences for landscapes of this kind. Wildness cannot be captured and measured, but it can be experienced and interpreted by people in many different ways' (Scottish Natural Heritage 2002: 5).

[19] This occurred part way through the research thus making Wild Land a timely management issue within both case study areas, though it was particularly contentious in Assynt, as discussed in chapters 7 and 8.

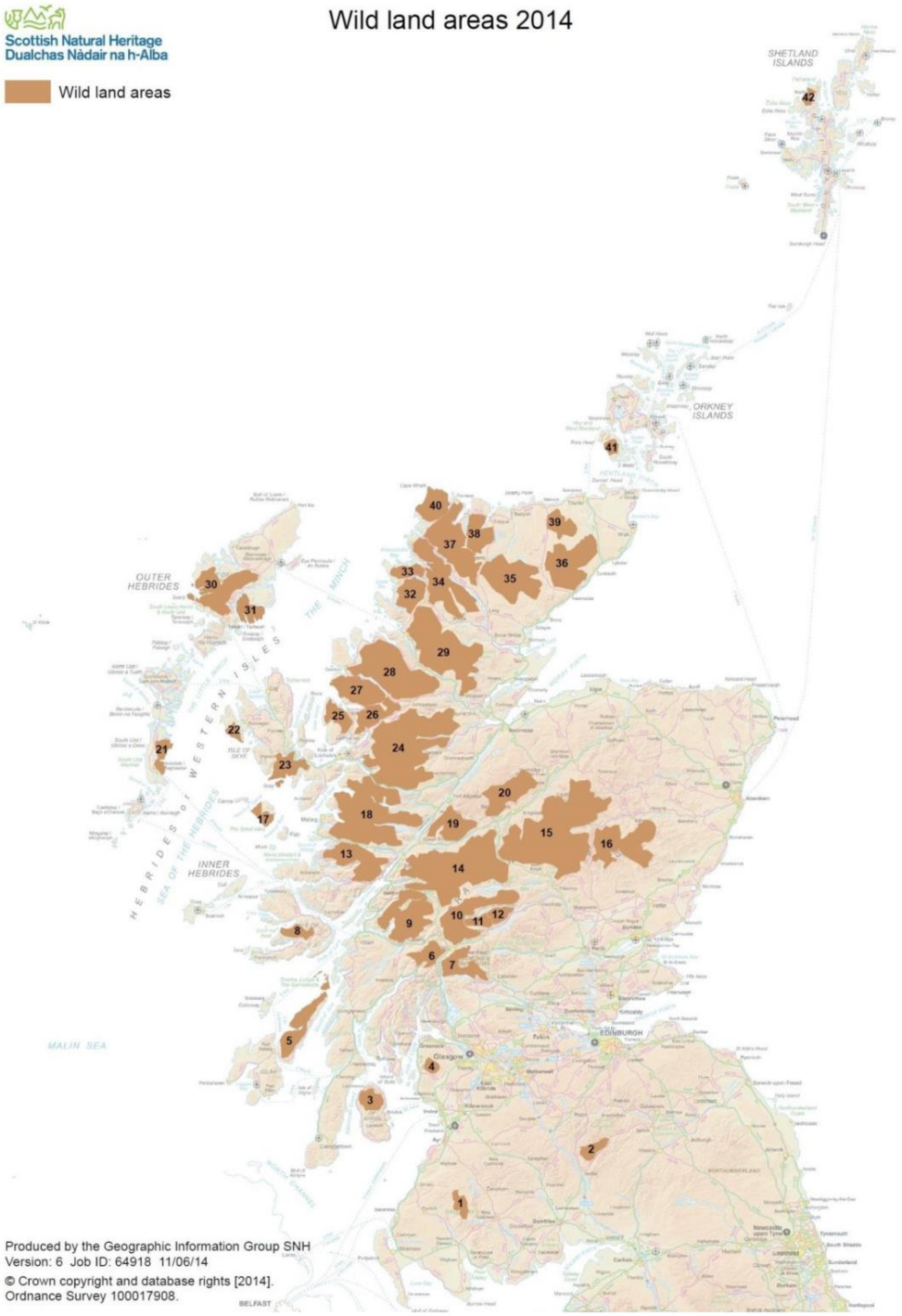


Figure 3-2: Wild Land Area designations. Applecross has one area designated as wild land, primarily occupying the north of the peninsula (number 25) and Assynt has two designations around Glencanisp and Quinag (numbers 32 and 33 respectively). Source of map: Scottish Natural Heritage (2014e). See Scottish Natural Heritage (2014b) for an interactive version of the map.

Despite, therefore, stating that wildness cannot be 'captured and measured' the process of attempting to protect landscapes deemed to have a wildness character through designation resulted in the creation of maps using measurable attributes. Thus 'individual experiences' may not necessarily be reflected through this designation despite the policy claiming this is significant.

The implications for this research, therefore, is to explore the extent to which the Wild Land designation has impacted on the landscape management of these areas and the extent to which those participants who lived in the areas and those who were visiting felt it reflected their experience of the landscape. There is a recognition in the Wild Land Policy of the cultural links with wild land, and that these landscapes are often a product of past social history in the landscape (Scottish Natural Heritage 2002, see also the previous chapter, section 2.2.2). It could, however, be argued that both Wild Land and the NSAs foster a broader cultural 'norm' of what are aesthetically important landscapes. Selman & Swanwick (2010: 7) highlight that the close association between natural beauty[20] and culture means that it can be 'a dynamic concept, related to a prevailing consensus on what people consider to be aesthetic and important to human well-being.' Yet they concurrently argue that it is not that fluid as 'many qualities appear to be consistently recognised across time and place.' Once again, there is a question over which views have been culturally embedded and whether past ideas on what was thought of as being 'special' still remains influential today in terms of how people experience landscapes.

Protected area management is the most predominant form of management practice in terms of landscape protection and has been critiqued as having a preservationist approach through wanting to maintain the landscape as it is. Warren (2009: 242) argues that the desire 'for classification produced a system which attempted to pin nature down within reassuringly rigid, fixed categories but nature's turbulent dynamism rarely respects the boundaries of such socially constructed frameworks'. This parallels the discussions in section 2.4.2 in the previous chapter around spatializing nature and the desire to create boundaries around areas of culturally important landscapes. The 'protected area' approach, though widely used, therefore does have disadvantages, with groups from land-owners to conservation groups highlighting their frustration with the

[20] Selman & Swanwick (2010) paper is focussed particularly on the concept of 'natural beauty' in relation to Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty, although there are parallels to the NSA and other landscape legislation around landscape character and quality.

process. Developments in relation to conservation management have largely reflected the emergence of the participatory ethos with greater emphasis on bottom-up management processes where importance is placed on local management by local people. In particular, however, the growing discontent with the more traditional protected area approach raises the question of potential new ways of approaching and thinking about management. It is not the intention of this thesis to produce a new management strategy however it will begin to explore the potential of new ideas and ways of thinking about landscapes and management. The following section now focusses on the emphasis placed on greater participation and defining who stakeholders are within landscape management.

3.4 Whose landscape? Stakeholders, values and participation

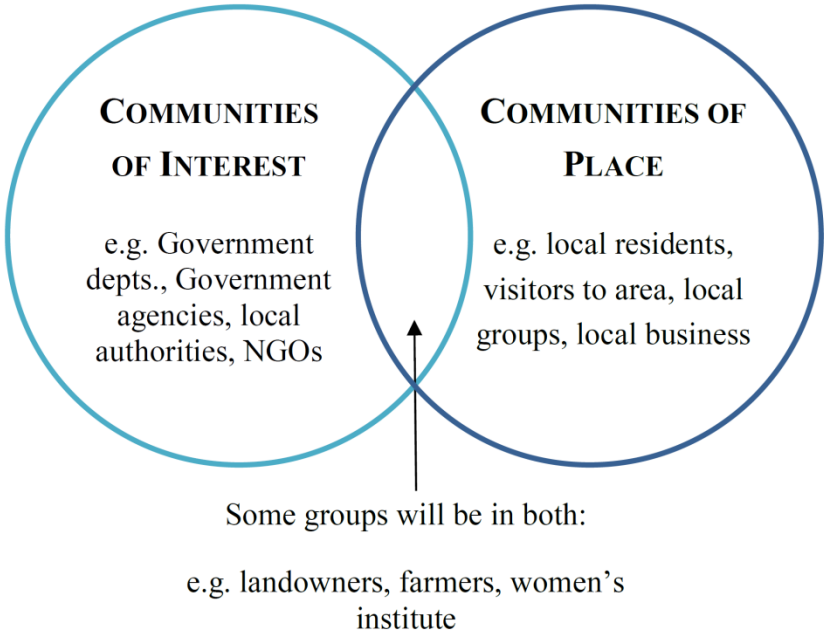
The ELC's call for more 'democratic treatment' to include all stakeholders within landscape management (Council of Europe 2000b) emphasises the current shift within landscape policy toward greater stakeholder participation. Both the ELC and LUS suggest that it is not just professional stakeholders that should be involved with this process but that all individuals have equally valued knowledge and therefore should have an equal claim for that knowledge to be heard (Butler & Åkerskog 2014; Jones 2007). This section firstly considers who the stakeholders are when referred to within management policy and practice (section 3.4.1). The broader issues around governance and participation are then explored as are the challenges that are raised through greater stakeholder participation and in exploring cultural values, with Landscape Partnership Schemes (LPSs) outlined as an example of this approach in practice (section 3.4.2). Finally land ownership is discussed with specific reference to the Scottish Highlands context of this study and how past and present changes in who has ownership of the land can impact on landscape management (section 3.4.3).

3.4.1 Who are the stakeholders and what are their 'values'?

Within many environmental policies reference is often made to 'stakeholders' and increasingly 'stakeholder participation' is regarded as a central component of the development and implementation of environmental strategies. Swanwick *et al.* (2002) describe 'stakeholders' as 'the whole constituency of individuals and groups who have an interest in a subject or place.' Subsequently they argue stakeholders could potentially be divided into two broad groups, 'communities of interest' and 'communities of

place[21]' (Figure 3-3). The former can be regarded as a broad group that does not necessarily have a direct link with the landscape. Consequently there can be a variety of different interests within this one group, from environmental/ecological interests to economic, regulatory and development interests. The latter is stated to be those individuals who live or work in a particular area and – perhaps somewhat more controversially – those who are not from the area but visit. In such a way there is also a tendency to depoliticise 'place' and 'communities of place' whereby places are regarded as involving a shared set of interests. Critical approaches argue, however, that places themselves can in practice be as divided as the 'communities of interest'. The work by Taylor Aiken (2014), cited previously, argues there is an assumption within environmental policy which produces a particular vision of 'community'. Massey (2006; 2005) has similarly challenged assumptions around 'place' calling for it to be regarded 'as open rather than bounded, as an ongoing production rather than pre-given' (Massey 2006: 33). In re-evaluating place as being fluid rather than fixed, 'community' becomes a more contested place and not a 'state of togetherness' as first assumed (Taylor Aiken 2014: 218). There is however also overlap between the two categories

Figure 3-3: Identifying different landscape stakeholders – 'communities of interest' and 'communities of place' (Swanwick *et al.*, 2002:1).



[21] These classifications are later used to help with the analysis of the research through exploring differences and similarities between the values and experiences expressed by the two groups.

which begins to highlight further the potential conflict between the differing agendas for all stakeholders. Such categorizations raise a challenge for this research, and landscape management more broadly, as these groups will often have differing agendas and values for landscapes despite assumptions that a shared 'place' creates shared agendas.

The ELC and LUS articulate a similar emphasis on the role of a more participatory approach to management and both place people centrally within the implementation of these policies, for example the preamble of the ELC refers to 'the public's wish to enjoy high quality landscapes and to play an active part in the development of landscapes' (Council of Europe 2000a). Caspersen (2009) identifies that engagement of policy makers and landscape managers with all landscape stakeholders has the potential to increase knowledge of landscapes and so in turn to result in greater awareness of landscape matters among a much broader audience. Caspersen highlights that this is (or should be) a two-way exchange of knowledge with the local stakeholders having more intimate local knowledge of the landscape.

Scott & Shannon (2007: 267) identify, however, that what is required for such environmental policies to succeed is a 'culture change from the planners and stakeholders' to raise the profile of landscape matters. Powell *et al.* (2002) suggest that one way to help develop such a culture change is through the creation of a 'virtuous circle' between the 'environment and community'. Figure 3-4 demonstrates such a reciprocal relationship whereby both contribute to the sustainable development of the other. Recognition of such a relationship places communities within the landscape as an important component of creating the character of the landscape and a sense of place (Scazzosi 2004). Yet the 'virtuous circle' focusses specifically on intangible 'qualities' of the landscape, such as economics, population and personal wellbeing. There is a lack of a more tangible sense of the landscape in and of itself represented within the diagram. If a more hybrid approach to landscape is taken, such as that of Whatmore (2002) discussed in chapter 2, rather than maintaining and reifying the binaries of nature/culture, sensuous immersion/detached observation, then both people and landscape must be equally represented and displayed.

Sherlock *et al.* (2004) similarly demonstrate that it is not just negotiations between policy makers and local populations that can highlight absence of shared values but

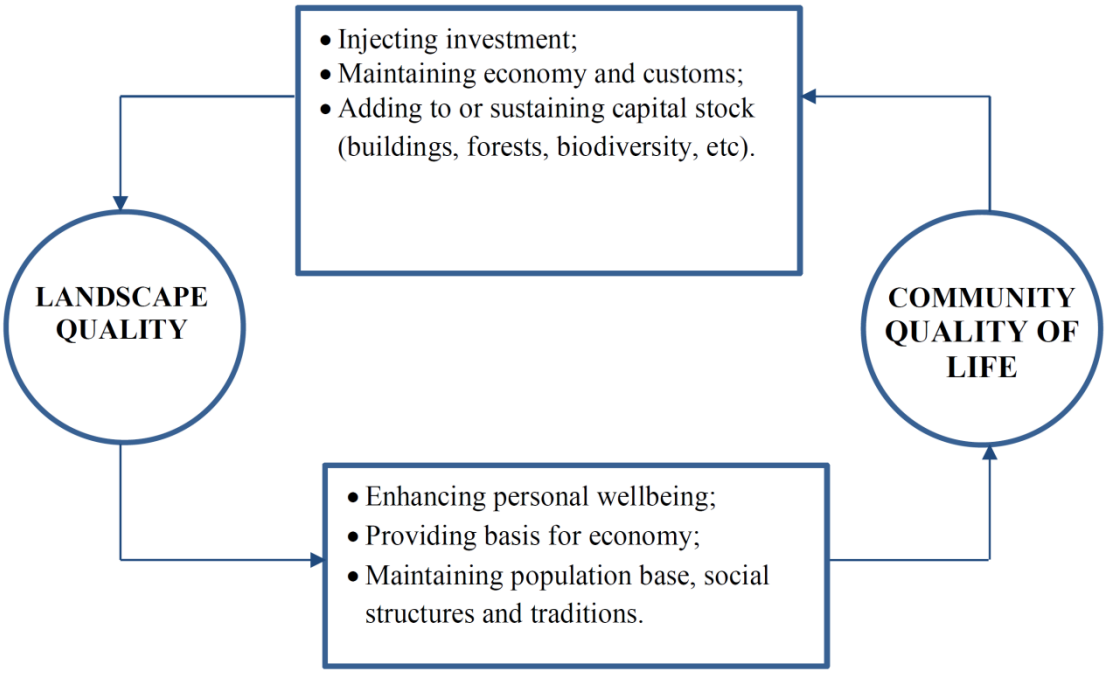


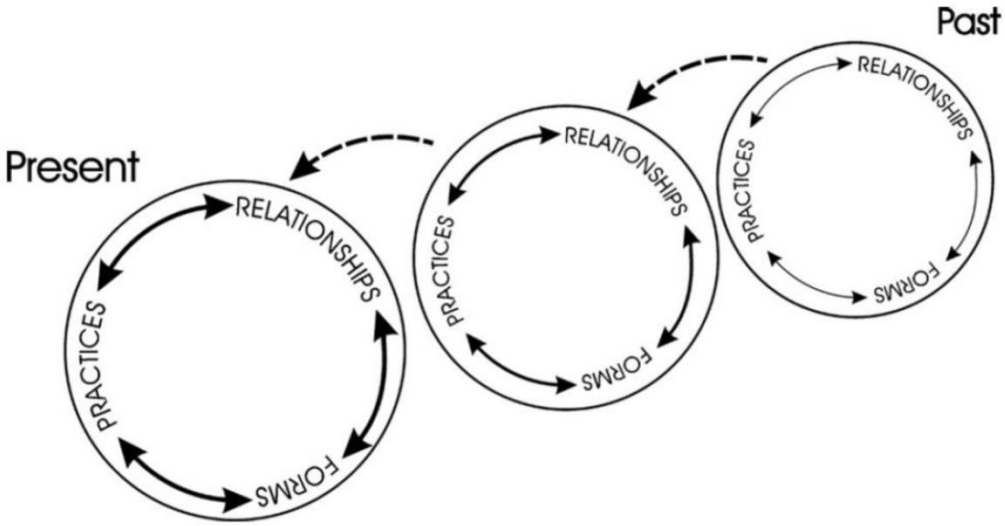
Figure 3-4: The 'virtuous circle' between landscapes and people (Powell *et al.* 2002: 283).

between different policy maker organisations. Here issues of 'speaking different languages' can impede success in making new partnerships between different organisations with differing agendas in relation to management. Furthermore Sherlock *et al.* argued that partnerships working between academia and non-academics were undertaken largely because of a 'socio-political *requirement*' rather than reflecting commitment to the development of a 'discursive democracy' among environmental agencies (*ibid.*: 663, original emphasis). There was evidence of the benefits of partnerships, however, between different organisations, particularly in the potential for improving the implementation of policies as there was a greater sense of ownership amongst all the partners and – through improved communication – between the different partners. The implications of this for this research is the ability to communicate the values expressed by different stakeholders – from local individuals/community groups to local authorities/government organisations.

Chapter 2 highlighted the potential of culturally embedded values of landscape informed by past management and representations of landscape (Lorimer 2000; MacDonald 1998; 2002). Stephenson (2008: 127) argues that the development and signing of the ELC 'suggests that there may be shortcomings in the identification of landscapes' cultural significance and that better attention should be paid to how to

sustain landscape's contribution to cultural identity and diversity.' In conjunction with the discussions in chapter 2 (in particular section 2.4) this argues for 'culture' to be understood as being more than social relationships but also something that is spatialized (Toogood 1995). The Cultural Values Model (Figure 3-5) is based on interactions between forms – the physical, tangible and measurable aspects of landscape – relationships – people-people interactions in the landscape, those generated by people-landscape interactions, and [...] ecological relationships' and practices – past and present actions, traditions and events; ecological and natural processes; and those. practices/processes that incorporate both human and natural elements' (Stephenson 2008: 134). Such a model highlights the interconnected way in which landscape management issues can be explored, from both a 'natural' and 'cultural' way.

Figure 3-5: The Cultural Values Model - understanding landscape value through the dynamic and temporal interaction between forms, practices and relationships (Stephenson 2008: 135).



Both Stephenson and Priede (2009)[22] argue that landscape management legislation is narrowly confined in relation to 'culture' and 'stakeholder value' as this is a much more individual responses and contextualised by multiple experiences and encounters within landscapes. Such challenges raised here indicate that there is an issue of broader

[22] Priede (2009) conducted research in the Highlands of Scotland to explore cultural values from a broad cross section of the population of the case study areas, using a mixed, qualitative and quantitative methodology.

governance, of how policies and management are implemented and it is to this the discussion now turns.

3.4.2 Governance, participation and community engagement

Throughout this chapter and underlying much of the discussion has been the role of participation and the involvement of stakeholders, in particular the general public within landscape management. The two policies that have greatly informed these discussions – the ELC and LUS – exemplify the current shift within landscape policy of a desire for greater involvement but which has, however, not yet fully been realised in practice. This section considers the broader influences on participation within management practices.

Blake (1999: 257) indicates that there are tensions that arise through broader stakeholder involvement and awareness of environmental issues, primarily over the 'relative responsibilities of different actors.' Part of this tension of responsibility could be a result of the different models of governance which include different levels of public participation that have been adopted in relation to the environment. Macnaughten & Jacobs (1997) and Bulkeley & Mol (2003: 148) identify two models of participation, the first the 'information deficit model'. Within this model the public is regarded as being 'ill equipped to take decisions and actions in the interest of the environment, due to their ignorance about the issues at hand' (Bulkeley & Mol 2003: 148). Consequently information is provided by the state, through initiatives and campaigns, with people acting ''rationally' in response to information made available to them' (Macnaughten & Jacobs 1997: 10). The LUS articulates some similar sentiments in relation to the role of education regarding land use:

> 'Everyone can play a part in influencing land use, but to make this happen, people need to understand and take an interest in the land ... There should be opportunities for all communities to find out about how land is used to understand related issues, to have a voice in debates, and if appropriate to get involved in managing the land themselves' Scottish Government (2011: 25).

Similarly the ELC identifies the importance of education as part of the implementation strategy of the ELC, in order to bring issues of landscape to a much broader audience (Council of Europe 2000a; 2000b). As Bulkeley & Mol (2003) identify, however, this form of participation is restricted to the implementation of predetermined policies by the state.

The second model of participation is the 'civic model' (Bulkeley & Mol 2003: 149). The emphasis of this model is to be more 'deliberative' in its approach to participation, through creating more trust between the public and the 'experts' and furthermore that communities of interest and local inhabitants have *access* to the decision-making process (Bulkeley & Mol 2003). Therefore from this approach participation is not regarded as a tool through which to pass on information but instead a means through which to solicit different stakeholder values and act upon them (*ibid.*). This more 'bottom-up' approach to participation is also emphasised within the ELC:

> 'Landscape … plays an important role in the well-being of Europeans who are no longer prepared to tolerate the alteration of their surroundings by technical and economic developments in which they have had no say. Landscape is the concern of all and lends itself to democratic treatment, particularly at local and regional level' Council of Europe (2000b, Ch.II, Art.23).

As a number of studies have demonstrated, however, the move from top-down (information-deficit model) to bottom-up (civic model) participatory and interactive approaches to policy-making is challenging to achieve in practice (Bulkeley & Mol 2003; Keulartz 2009; Powell *et al.* 2002). The underlying issue as raised by Keulartz (2009) is the negotiation of values between the various stakeholders, all of whom are likely to have different agendas and values in relation to a landscape. Consequently, this results in what he has termed on the one hand a 'democratic deficit' – whereby one or more groups will have to sacrifice more than the other(s) – and on the other hand 'output deficiencies' – where negotiations can result in poor management of the landscape (and potentially the local people). This may in turn result in unsustainable and/or poor management practices. Keulartz illustrates this using the 1992 Habitats Directive[23] which, despite having achieved successes, was implemented in a top-down approach that involved little consultation with different stakeholders. This resulted in high levels of resistance in each EU Member State to the proposed measures (*ibid*.). Bulkeley & Mol (2003) raise this as the fundamental question to participation, emphasising in particular *how* the range of views and values from the different stakeholders, all of which are regarded as valid, are integrated within the policy process.

[23] The 1992 Habitats Directive 'forms the cornerstone of Europe's conservation policy' (European Commission 2014) and includes the Natura 2000 network identified above. The Directive was implemented to protect both plant and animal species along with 'habitat types' (such as wetlands, meadows and forests) that 'are of European importance' (*ibid*.).

The Scottish Government has declared a commitment to ensuring further community engagement with the introduction of the Community Empowerment and Renewal Bill which proposes to:

> 'support communities to achieve their own goals and aspirations through taking independent action and by having their voices heard in the decisions that affect their area,' (Scottish Government 2013).

This, along with the LUS, highlights the political environment within Scotland which, in policy at least, promotes greater emphasis on stakeholder participation, including among local communities. Butler & Åkerskog (2014), Scott (2011), Sevenant & Antrop (2010) and Caspersen (2009) all highlight the challenges that can arise when undertaking management projects that aim to incorporate multiple and diverse stakeholders. The result can be certain social groups being missed by the research and which is dominated by those already involved in some way with management organisations or who expressed an interest in landscape, nature or cultural heritage (Caspersen 2009). Within all these papers there is an underlying value being articulated around gaining different types of 'knowledge' about landscapes and so a desire to engage with those who may not want to attend public consultation events, such as full-time farmers and younger families with children. The research in this thesis is consequently highly timely through providing a potential means of incorporating such values and exploring methods that may help to encourage greater public participation with landscapes. It also explores the potential conflicts that may arise in response to the greater diversity of values that are being expressed by the inclusion of a greater number of stakeholders.

Moving on to look at an example of an approach aimed specifically at facilitating involvement – in this case through partnerships – Landscape Partnership Schemes (LPS). LPS are 'schemes led by partnerships of local, regional and national interests which aim to conserve areas of distinctive landscape character throughout the UK,' (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2013). Landscape Partnership Schemes aim for management to be at the landscape-scale and promote more collaborative working between local, regional and national organisations. The schemes are a means through which the UK can meet international obligations – including those of the ELC – through emphasising a landscape approach centrally within their grant awarding system (Clarke *et al.* 2011). They promote partnerships between local and national organisations as well as engaging

with more collaborative engagements between the partners and local communities. The aim is to generate more 'bottom up' initiatives 'and [… ensure] projects are targeted on […] locally perceived needs' (*ibid.*: 5).

Both Applecross and Assynt have or have had landscape partnership schemes as discussed in chapter 1. The partnership schemes have a specific focus on heritage and culture and, therefore, promote notions of past landscapes and the need to be preserved. The critique of Massey (2006) to engage with a more temporal notion of landscape could also be articulated here. There is the potential for these partnerships, though being collaborative, to privilege the landscapes past but not the future. The implications for this research, therefore, are how different landscape trajectories are being articulated by the participants and then be meaningfully incorporated within management strategies. It is not only the organisations involved with managing the land but those who own it and so have the final decision on what happens to the land. The implications of who owns the land on landscape management is the focus of the following section.

3.4.3 Land ownership in Scotland

The question of land ownership remains an emotive question in Scotland and raises challenges in relation to land management. Mather (1995: 127) argues that land use is 'merely the expression in the landscape of decisions taken by landowners and occupiers.' Three broad groups of ownership – private ownership, public ownership and social ownership – are highlighted by Warren (2009: 48-51). Private ownership is the dominant group with 50% of the land area of Scotland held by 608 owners and with 18 of these owners holding 10% of the land area (Warren 2009: 48). These areas are predominantly sporting estates, accounting for 43% of all privately owned land (*ibid*.). Public ownership – through public bodies and nationalised industries such as Forestry Commission, SNH and the Ministry of Defence – occurred primarily during the second half of the 20th Century.

Social ownership is often considered the 'middle ground' between private and public ownership (Warren 2009: 51). This ownership incorporates conservation organisations, not-for-profit trusts and community groups (*ibid*.). The increasing number of community land trusts from the late 1990s[24], in particular, has been the focus of

[24] The earliest Community Land Trust was the Stornoway Trust in 1923 but it was not until 1992/1993 that the second Community Land Trust was successfully created by the crofters of Assynt in Sutherland (Skerratt 2011).

attention in relation to land ownership and increasingly so with the continuing debates around Land Reform (Hoffman 2013; Skerratt 2011). The goal for land reform, as set out by the Scottish Government, is as follows:

> '[a] strong relationship between the people of Scotland and the land of Scotland, where ownership and use of land delivers greater public benefits through a democratically accountable and transparent system of land rights that promotes fairness and social justice, environmental sustainability and economic prosperity' (Scottish Government 2015b).

The introduction and maturing of these land trusts has highlighted the potential for communities to have a greater say over how the land is managed and in particular to allow such places to develop in a way that is sustainable for both landscape and people (Skerratt 2011). Warren (2009: 51) highlights, however, that to own the land does not mean 'unfettered freedoms' as it was once considered, but that owners (whether public, private or social) are instead constrained by local, national and international laws alongside planning controls and conservation designations.

Skerrat (2011) argues that social ownership, in particular Community Land Trusts, has the potential for greater sustainability and resilience of both the communities and the land in the long term. Furthermore, Skerratt (2011: 12) indicates that resilience of these Trusts occurs not only in a material way but also in relation to 'confidence experience and expertise in local development and management by and for the local community.' Whether such resilience can be attained in relation to land owned by a private landlord or the public through more partnership has not been fully researched.

Land ownership is not a central focus of this research however the case study areas are under different forms of ownership and therefore may influence the way that the landscapes are experienced. Power structures, particularly under more traditional patterns of ownership, are often regarded as being resistant to change and stalling the progress towards greater community engagement (Glass *et al.* 2013c). The implications for community engagement and the extent to which it can be achieved under different forms of ownership, therefore, are likewise of interest in relation to landscape management and how this influences peoples' perceptions and experiences of landscape.

3.5 Summary, key challenges and moving towards a research methodology

This chapter has highlighted a number of tensions within the policy discourses around management approaches, stakeholder participation and governance. It also touched on more fundamental conceptual tensions, in particular the role of 'values' and how they can be articulated from different stakeholder groups and whether they can all be incorporated within policy and management development and implementation. This, coupled with the tension between nature and culture identified in chapter 2, highlights the challenge of negotiating between these different notions of 'landscape'.

The chapter has aimed to show parallel discussions occurring between conceptual academic literature around 'landscape' and 'culture' are similarly happening within policy discussions. The incorporation of people within landscape management suggests, as Stephenson (2008) argued, that landscape policy and practice has so far been shortcoming in the identification and incorporation of 'culture'. The embodied and emotional discussions in the previous chapter argued for recognition that 'our spatial relations, our spatial lives, are not merely present relations between our bodies and their current spaces, but a fantastically complex entanglement of self, past spatial relations and memory in current life (Jones & Garde-Hansen 2012: 11). An acknowledgement of the temporality of peoples' relation with(in) landscapes and landscapes themselves highlights the complexity that must be incorporated within the landscape management process but simultaneously raises challenges in how this is to be achieved and still undertake 'effective' management (Keulartz 2009).

Through exploring the policy discourses of the ELC and LUS and current management practices and approaches being implemented within Scotland (and throughout the globe) some major themes have been identified. The emphasis placed on greater stakeholder participation has highlighted tensions around who are the stakeholders and the different, often conflicting, agendas that can arise. 'Communities of place' and 'communities of interest' have been used to distinguish between different stakeholder groups but these can still reify the normative assumption of homogenous communities.

The traditional approach to management is characterised by the placement of boundaries around areas designated as being of national 'importance'. This significance can be based on a number of qualities including the ecological uniqueness, special scenic qualities or cultural heritage. The previous chapter discussed the ongoing

spatialization of ‘nature’, specifically as a consequence of changing ownership and social processes. Consequently, this can result in the perception of landscapes as being static and so in turn raises the question of how landscapes are valued and the extent to which they are influenced by culturally embedded ideas of landscape. Furthermore, it raises challenges of how current landscape policy principles and social practices may not ‘fit’ with these past practices.

Underlying all of these issues is a need for more innovative methodologies through which to engage stakeholders that are not only those who are already pre-disposed to want to get involved with landscape management. Likewise considering the tensions outlined in chapter 2, methods that are able to address these. Furthermore, the methods need to create the spaces through which participants can effectively articulate their values and to then explore the possibilities and challenges for them to be translated into management practices. The following chapter outlines the methodology adopted for the research and how it was developed in response to the challenges raised in both this and the literature chapters.

4 Research design and methods

4.1 Introduction

The literature and policy review identified the greater awareness given to 'cultural values' alongside a call for greater participation of multiple and varied stakeholders within the development and implementation of landscape management. There are a number, however, who have critiqued this as being largely rhetoric (Prager, *et al.* 2012; Sherlock *et al.* 2004) and potentially detrimental to landscape management due to the diversity of agendas that would be required to be heard within greater participation (Bulkeley & Mol 2003; Keulartz 2009; Powell *et al.* 2002). Policies such as the European Landscape Convention and Scotland's Land Use Strategy that encourage greater participation of multiple stakeholders, in particular the general public, do not provide specific guidelines through which effective participation can be achieved. There have, therefore, been calls for the use of more innovative methodologies through which this could be achieved (Scott 2011).

This research, therefore, sought to develop a methodology that could capture diverse values from multiple stakeholders. Furthermore, the methodology needed to explore how landscapes are valued, not in a quantitative way but in a way that captured more subjective and potentially more subtle emotional encounters with and experiences of landscapes. It similarly needed to include a means through which people could engage with notions of landscape and landscape management in a form where participation within management could be discussed. The discussions on embodied and emotional encounters with landscapes in the previous chapter emphasised the 'more-than-visual' experiences of landscape. As such a combination of walking interviews, arts-based methods and key-informant interviews were conducted in order to explore this.

The chapter begins by outlining the research design, moving from identifying research gaps from the literature, to research questions, to methodology and methods (section 4.2). The following sections detail the different aspects of doing the research from selecting the case study areas (section 4.3), to participant recruitment (section 4.4), to engaging critically with the process of doing walking interviews (section 4.5) and arts-based methods (section 4.6), to the process of data analysis (section 4.7). The remaining sections 4.8 and 4.9 take a more reflective look at the research, discussing the ethical considerations that arose and engaging reflexively with my own positionality and

emotional response to the research. The issue of reflexivity will be highlighted throughout the chapter as the methods and the doing of the research developed through a reflexive process, engaging with what was working and what did not. Due to the reflexive and reflective[25] nature of how this research was conducted this chapter is written in the first person to situate the researcher – me – centrally within the discussion to reflect the influence I had on the whole research process as well as how the research influenced me.

4.2 Developing a research design using 'more-than-visual' methods

Figure 4-1 summarises the research process, from identifying policy and research gaps in relation to landscapes through to the methodology and methods that were adopted in order to investigate the research questions identified. This research, though drawing on aspects of participatory action research to an extent, was semi-participatory in practice. Bergold & Thomas (2012) argue that to understand the extent to which a project is participatory, a question must be asked as to who controls the research. In the case of this research, questions were developed by myself after reviewing academic and policy literature identified in the previous chapter, rather than with local participants. They were, however, developed in such a way as to be investigative and exploratory in character. As Stringer (2014: 36) argues:

> '…action research commences with a broadly defined question, problem, or issue. Investigations therefore seek initially to clarify the issue investigated and to reveal the way participants describe their actual experience of that issue – how things happen and how it affects them.'

It was not the intention for this research to be 'action research' and produce specific management outcomes for each case study area. Instead it wished to use the approach, particularly in the initial stages as identified by Stringer, to be investigative and allow participants to identify the landscape management issues as they perceived them to be.

[25] Drawing on Bingham (2003), Foster (2007) and Lorimer, H. (2006) this research was both reflexive and reflective. Foster (2007: 369) argues that being more reflexive gives greater transparency on the role of the researcher as well as giving the research 'greater awareness of self'. Consequently, throughout the research process I have continually engaged with what has and has not worked and adapted and changed the research where it has been necessary or needed, for example the use of an attachable and wind guarded microphone that participants could wear. Likewise I kept a research diary recording how the methods were being received by participants as well my own thoughts and feelings towards the research. This allowed me to reflect on how the research was going and what was starting to emerge in relation to the analysis. Section 4.9 provides a detailed discussion of taking a reflexive approach to the research.

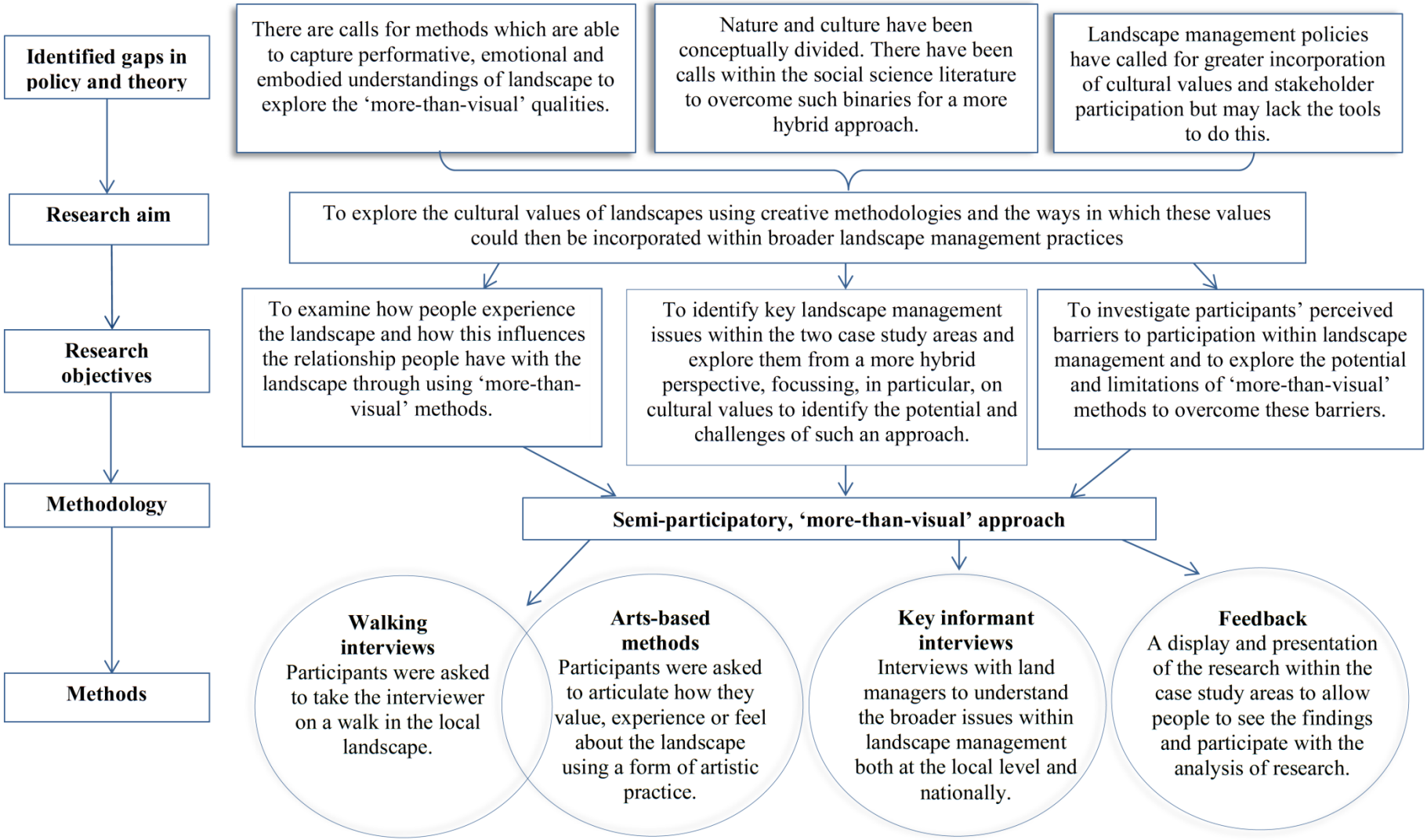


Figure 4-1: Research design from identifying research and policy gaps to the methods.

Likewise, by approaching the research in this way it was intended that participants had the freedom to discuss landscapes broadly and therefore explore their experiences and understandings of landscape and how they valued it. The research questions were broad enough to allow for the methods to encourage new and potentially innovative ways to understand how people firstly understood the landscape, landscape management and the issues they believed to be significant in their area in relation to landscape and secondly how they wished to participate within landscape management. The research questions identified in Figure 4-1 are the final research questions of the research but they were not the original questions identified. As part of undertaking a semi-participatory and reflexive approach to the research the questions were refocused at various points, particularly during the time spent in the case study areas, to reflect the emphasis on issues emerging from the field work.

Due to the 'performative' nature of the methods chosen, the significance of *doing* the research became much more apparent and part of the research process itself. The importance, therefore, of recording the encounters between the researcher, participants and the landscape and reflecting on how these may assist in contextualising what the participants were expressing was undertaken through keeping a research diary[26]. The notes made within the diary are used in the following sections of this chapter (and following chapters) to provide more contextual information when it is needed.

The research was undertaken with residents, visitors and landscape managers in two areas of North West Scotland[27] – Applecross and Assynt – and employed a number of methods: walking interviews, arts-based methods, key informant interviews and feedback events. The field research was conducted over a period of two years, from June 2012 to March 2014. Table 4-1 summarises the different stages of the fieldwork within the two case study areas. The research aimed to talk to local residents[28], visitors[29]

[26] As well as the research diary I also took a camera out with me to record my own encounters and experiences of the landscape visually.

[27] Section 4.3 discusses in further detail the process of identifying where the research was undertaken and characteristics of the two case study areas.

[28] Local residents includes those that have lived there all their life, and those that have moved there (both longer term and more recently).

[29] Visitors included those that owned holiday homes as well as those who visited regularly but did not own property and those that had only visited one or two times before.

and key informants[30] in order to obtain a broad spectrum of views and to target multiple stakeholders. Table 4-2 shows the numbers involved with the research within Applecross and Assynt. This section provides an outline of the methods adopted for this research, as shown in Figure 4-1, which when combined created a 'more-than-visual' methodology that was able to capture a more in-depth exploration of participants' experiences of landscape.

Table 4-1: Summary of fieldwork.

Stage of fieldwork	Applecross	Assynt
1 week initial visit	June 2012	March 2013
Extended visit	(5 weeks) August – September 2012	(6 weeks) April – May 2013
Follow up week	July 2013	-[31]
Feedback	November 2013	March 2014

Table 4-2: Overview of number of participants who took part in the fieldwork.

	Local resident	Visitor	Key informant	Total
Applecross	11	9	2(3)[32]	22
Assynt	16	9	2(4)	27
Total	27	18	4	49

4.2.1 Walking interviews

Walking interviews (along with the arts-based methods discussed below) were undertaken with local residents and visitors[33] formed the majority of the 'data' gathered. Emphasis in the walking interviews was placed on what Lee and Ingold (2006: 63) have termed 'shared walking' whereby the experience of walking in the landscape is shared

[30] Key informants were those involved with the management of the landscape both those based within the case study areas and those based outwith the case study areas, including Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH) area officers and Applecross Trust staff.

[31] All interviews were conducted within the six weeks, therefore a follow up week was not needed in Assynt.

[32] Numbers in brackets indicate local residents who were also directly involved with the management of the landscape in the case study area and therefore were also classed as key informants, numbers have been put in brackets to prevent them being counted twice.

[33] Key informants based outwith the case study areas did not go on a walking interview but were interviewed in their offices. In contrast the majority of local resident key informants did do walking interviews. Further discussion on the key informant interviews and the difference between local resident key informants and key informants outwith the case study areas is provided in section 4.2.3.

between the participant and the researcher. This was to reflect the semi-participatory approach that the research adopted and to encourage a more 'collaborative and non-hierarchical approach,' that characterises such research (Pain 2004: 652). Participants were asked to determine the route of the walk which was designed to allow the participants to show the researcher what they wanted to show. Participants were also encouraged to take the lead in the discussion on the walk. Although an interview schedule was completed[34] before going out to the case study areas, specific questions were not developed. Rather it was primarily developed to help outline the purpose of the research and the walk to participants. The topic areas which were developed were designed to be open and allow the participants to talk at length, then for me to ask questions in response to what they raised.

Walks generally involved the researcher and one participant, however this did range from two to four participants and the researcher on the walk. Due to the participatory nature of the research and to accommodate those who were perhaps less mobile, or preferred a different activity, participants could choose not to go for a walk. Overall 43 separate interviews were conducted (including key informant interviews) and included; 28 walking interviews; 5 sitting outside; 1 in a boat and 9 sitting inside (this included participants' homes and places of work, most of the key informant interviews were conducted in their place of work). Predominantly, therefore, interviews were conducted on walks and so form the majority of the discussion of this methods chapter. Interviews not done on a walk, however, will also be acknowledged for the contrast that they provided as they would often highlight both the advantages and limitations of the walking interview method.

4.2.2 Arts-based methods

For the arts-based methods participants could choose what medium they would like to try or felt most comfortable doing in order to articulate how they valued, experienced or felt about the landscape. A number of different methods were used by the participants (see Table 4-3) which also shows how many of the participants used them. Twenty-six participants chose not to do their own arts-based work. This is a significant limitation and highlights a major challenge when using arts-based methods. This is discussed further in section 4.6.

[34] Refer to Appendix 1 to see a copy of the interview schedule.

Photography was the most commonly used medium with some participants taking photographs whilst on the walk and others providing photographs that had already been taken after the walk was completed. It was not specified that participants had to do this aspect of the research on the walk but they were told in advance that I had some materials with me, camera, paper, pencils, pastels and paints, if they would like to use them whilst on the walk. Alternatively, they could use them after the walk or supply something at a later date.

Table 4-3: Arts-based methods used and number of participants who used them.

Method	Number of participants who used this medium
Photography	13
Painting/drawing	4
Poems	2
Video	2
Tapestry	1

4.2.3 Key informant interviews

Key informant interviews were undertaken to contextualise the individual responses of participants in relation to landscape and landscape management within wider management strategies being employed by landscape management organisations in the two areas. As with the walking interviews a fixed interview schedule was not used so as to allow the key informants to identify the key issues with landscape management for themselves and for the organisations of which they were part. These interviews were, therefore, predominantly unstructured. Yet, despite this I approached these interviews differently from the walking interviews as I knew that I wanted to know a bit of history about the organisation they belonged to and what impact and/or influence that organisation had with landscape management in the areas. The questions that I asked were consequently focussed differently from those with local residents and visitors in order to gain this information.

The categories used to distinguish the participants were often quite fluid in practice, as indicated in Table 4-2, between key informants that were based outwith the case study areas and part of national organisations and local residents who were also part of local landscape management groups. Scottish Natural Heritage are the key organisation

within Scotland for developing and implementing landscape management policy, therefore area managers for the two case study areas were interviewed, though both are based outwith the case study areas. Corbetta (2003: 245) highlights a distinction between what she terms 'institutional' and 'non-institutional' key informants, the difference being the former having a more 'formal' role within an organisation and the latter belonging 'directly to the culture under examination.' The local residents, therefore, fall under this more 'non-institutional' categorisation of key informants. It could also, however, include many more of the local resident participants, particularly those that were born and grew up in the area and so had knowledge on how the management of the landscapes has changed over the years and generations. The categorisation of participants in practice therefore was not that helpful and it was finding out the individual backgrounds of each participant – key informant or not – that helped to provide the contextual information behind their values and opinions (see section 4.4 for further discussion on how participants were recruited).

4.2.4 Feedback events

Due to the semi-participatory action approach of the research it was important to incorporate some form of feedback from the research within each case study area whereby participants (and those that had not taken part in the research previously) could engage with the initial analysis of the research and reflect on how the discussion around landscape management and participation between different stakeholders could happen, facilitated by the kinds of insights generated by the different methods. This section discusses the purpose of the feedback and how it was undertaken. Further discussion on the insights gained through undertaking the feedback events in relation to landscape management is given in chapter 8.

The purpose of the feedback was two-fold. Firstly, to feedback the research within each case study area and provide the opportunity for participants and others to see the initial stages of the analysis. Secondly, to provide the potential to move the analysis further and allow the participants to be involved in indicating where further research could/should be undertaken. They took the form of a display and presentation of the research in local community venues (see chapter 8 and Appendix 2). The display included artwork and quotations from the participants alongside videos, posters and drawings created by myself to help visualise the initial outcomes and findings. The presentation involved briefly outlining the findings of the research as shown in the

display followed by a discussion with the attendees. The discussion initially began with those attending asking me questions. The aim of the discussion, however, was to encourage those in the audience to develop a discussion between them and as discussions continued people did begin to respond to others' questions and answers.

The event was advertised as an open event, with individual invitations sent via email to ask those who took part in the research if they wanted to attend. Participants were also asked whether they wanted their artwork anonymised or not. This ethical challenge was raised as some participants would be quite easily identified the work that they provided[35]. For some they were happy for their actual names to be used and on some occasions actively wanted to be identified with their work as it was part of their livelihood. In contrast all quotations were anonymised with a different pseudonym used with each quotation. This was a guarantee given at the outset to participants taking part and also reflects the more sensitive nature of what participants discussed during their interviews. It was also the intention to create a space through which people felt comfortable to be able to discuss the issues that were highlighted through the research. Potential controversial, difficult and/or emotional issues would not necessarily be raised by and identified with one individual at the event and so reduce any potential tensions between those attending with different opinions. This approach also helped to inform the writing strategy for the thesis which is discussed further in section 4.7.2.

This section has outlined each of the methods used for this research. Each was chosen to investigate the three research objectives outlined in Figure 4-1. The chapter now focusses on a more evaluative reflection on the research beginning with the following section which discusses the process of selecting the case study areas (section 4.3). This is then followed by outlining participant recruitment (section 4.4). Sections 4.5 and 4.6 are more reflexive discussions on the potential and limitations of each of the methods adopted drawing on participant feedback about the methods, extracts from my field diary and relevant academic literature.

4.3 Selecting a case study approach and the case study areas

The research adopted a case study approach. The reason for undertaking the research in this way was to gain rich, in-depth qualitative data for specific areas to begin to explore a more nuanced understanding of how people value landscapes. Alongside this was the

[35] For a full discussion on the ethical and anonymity challenges see section 4.8.

greater potential to develop a methodological approach that could then be transferred to different landscapes, such as urban and agricultural landscapes, and even other areas and countries. The research was conducted in two case study areas and this section discusses the process of how they were selected. A number of ethical considerations arose through adopting a case study approach, particularly in relation to the participants that chose to take part. These are raised in this section but will be discussed further in the wider discussion of ethics in section 4.8.

Yin (2009: 4) argues a case study approach allows for real-life phenomena to be explored and to 'retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events.' As such this research adopts the argument put forward by Taylor (2013) to understand the 'case' as relational and complex. Drawing on the work of Massey (2005) on conceptualising space as relational and at the intersection of a multiplicity of trajectories, Taylor argues that case studies can be comprised of complex relationships which are ultimately unbounded and can include the environment and non-human world too. Taylor further states, 'on one level, [the] case was easy to bound within time and space,' but a person is hard to bound, quoting Massey (2005: 184):

> '... the "lived reality of our daily lives" is utterly dispersed, unlocalised in its sources and repercussions.'

This unbounded and relational approach to place was used by this research to challenge the traditional landscape gaze discussed in chapter 2 whereby landscapes can be bounded within a frame of view and be something that is just looked upon. Instead this research aimed to explore these complex relationships between people and landscape. This approach to understanding case studies meant that it was not only the people who took part and what they were saying but the landscapes themselves and the interactions that people had with those landscapes.

The research was not intended to present a comparative study of the case study areas as many of the characteristics – in particular the physical characteristics of the landscapes – were broadly similar as shown in the introduction chapter (see also Table 4-4 for an overview of some key characteristics of the case study areas). Both areas are located in the north-west Highlands of Scotland and so have very similar – mountainous and coastal – climates. In the initial stages of the research and deciding where the case study

Table 4-4: Characteristics of each case study area (please refer to Figure 1-4 and Figure 1-6 for named locations).

Area	Physical characteristics	Settlement distribution	Ownership	Landscape Partnership Scheme
Applecross	Coastal peninsula with a bay to the south where the River Crossan flows to the sea. Inland primarily mountainous high ground. Moorland and woodland habitats, with woodland regeneration across the north of the peninsula. Contains one SSSI in the corries of Bheinn bhan for the flora.	Primarily dispersed settlements though most of the population is located in the south of the peninsula. Local amenities – pub, shop (post office), village hall, doctors, estate house, petrol pumps – are all located in the south. Historically settlements have been located along the coast rather than inland, indicative of past reliance on the sea for communication and trade.	Formerly a family owned estate but is now a Charitable Trust. A member of the family, however, is the chairman of the board of trustees.	Gained funding in summer 2010 and came to the end of the LPS funding in July 2014. Focus at the end of the fieldwork was on completion of the projects and sustaining projects once the funding ended.
Assynt	Coastal landscape with isolated mountains. Moorland, bog and pockets of woodland make up the landscapes of the area. Part of the broader North West Highlands GeoPark area, designated for the age of the underlying geology being some of the oldest rocks in the country.	Principle settlement, Lochinver to the south, where there is a number of shops (including craft shops as well as a SPAR), post office, pub, restaurants, hotel, doctors, petrol station, visitor information centre (including ranger service). Unlike Applecross there are areas of relatively larger settlements throughout the area. Once again settlements are all located along the coastline rather than inland, this is partly a consequence of the Clearances.	Three areas under community ownership – The Assynt Foundation, Culag Community Woodland Trust (specifically Little Assynt Estate is owned) and North Assynt Trust – and smaller privately owned estates.	At the initial stages of the scheme, obtaining and securing funding is a top priority. Involves a number of local partners but also national organisations including Scottish Wildlife Trust.

areas should be there was discussion around doing two very different landscapes, such as a rural and an urban landscape or upland and lowland landscapes. It was decided, however, that this comparison would have had too many different factors for the research to be able to consider all of them to the same in-depth level[36]. Doing two similar landscape types, therefore, would allow for more in-depth analysis and conclusions to be drawn on the character of 'value' in these landscapes as well as the potential of the methodological approaches.

Both areas are classified as 'very remote rural' in the eight-fold Scottish Government Urban-Rural classification (Scottish Government 2014a). Both have Landscape Partnership Schemes (LPS) in place. In Applecross the funding from the LPS came to an end in the final year of the PhD and in Assynt it was still at the beginning of the LPS funding. The existence (or development) of a LPS in each area was, however, a key reason to choose these two case studies. Following the critique elaborated in chapter 3 that the European Landscape Convention and Land Use Strategy do not indicate how to integrate cultural values within management, LPSs are one source of funding that particularly seeks to place heritage – both social and cultural – within landscape management. Therefore both case study areas were actively engaged – though at different stages – with a potential framework through which cultural values and stakeholder engagement could be integrated within landscape management, albeit arguably with an emphasis on past culture rather than contemporary culture. Through doing case-study based research on these two areas it was therefore intended to explore how these schemes had developed, how the communities within the areas responded to them and any challenges that they may have come across in this attempt to integrate cultural values in landscape management. Responses to these will be explored in chapter 8.

Despite this similarity, however, where the two case study areas differ is in how they are owned. Applecross is owned by a charitable trust – the Applecross Trust – whose board still includes a member of the family that once privately owned the estate. Assynt, in comparison, is an area that includes both community owned estates and privately owned estates, however the community owned estates form the greatest area. Due to the history and recent developments of ownership and its resultant management in the Highlands of Scotland, having two different types of ownership between the case study

[36] There is the potential for future research, however, to adopt similar methods in different landscape contexts and explore 'landscape' and human relations with it, in a much broader perspective.

areas allows for the influence of ownership on landscape management to be explored. As the field work progressed, this theme emerged as a much more central aspect of the research. A discussion of the influence of ownership is given in chapter 8.

4.4 Participant recruitment

Prior to visiting the case study areas one key contact was made in each area via email. Both were involved in some way with landscape management in the areas. This was done in order to gain an understanding of the current management practices and initiatives that were in place within the local areas from the outset. Before spending an extended period of time – 5 to 6 weeks – within the case study areas when the bulk of the data collection was carried out, one week was spent in each of the areas to meet the key contact and begin to know the area, where settlements were and what activities were going on or were planned (see chapter 1 for a detailed ethnographic introduction to the case study areas and activities taken part in). At the initial meeting both contacts were asked if they would be willing to take part in the research and also provide names of others in the areas they thought would be happy to take part. It was, therefore, primarily through a snowballing method that recruitment took place (Corbetta 2003). This was a continuous process and so people who took part in the research were also asked who they would recommend to participate with the research. The purpose of doing it in this way was to reach – as far as it was possible – a broad cross-section of the population within each of the areas. It would then be possible to explore how values of the landscape may or may not vary between different individuals. Alongside this I also found out what was happening in the areas in terms of groups, particularly, those involved with the landscape and contacted them to talk about the research and whether they would be willing to be involved.

As outlined in section 4.2.1, in total 43 interviews were conducted with a total of 49 people across the two case study areas. A range of people were spoken to, including a number of key community members that were involved with landscape management organisations, community groups, local businesses and crofters, alongside visitors to the area. The snowballing technique was used primarily to recruit local residents. Key members of management groups were specifically targeted, including the landscape partnership schemes, representatives of the different land owning organisations within the two areas; the Applecross Trust, Assynt Foundation and Culag Community Woodland Trust (Assynt) and Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH). In order to recruit

visitors for the research, time was spent in more tourist areas, campsites and popular destinations. The most successful form of short term visitor recruitment, however, was through joining in activities that were organised in the area such as guided walks organised by the landscape partnership schemes and the ranger service. Potential participants were introduced to the research by myself and using the information leaflet (see appendix 3). Once participants agreed to take part an informed consent form (see appendix 4) was signed and a time and place was arranged to undertake the interview.

Initially I planned to interview an equal number of visitor and local participants in each area (10 each), however, during the first weeks in Applecross it became apparent that such a categorisation was too simplistic, as highlighted previously in relation to key informants (section 4.2.3) and also seen in the following extract from the research diary:

> '… she [a local resident] used an interesting phrase about 'belonging to the area'. Despite having lived here for over thirty years this was something she didn't feel, a lot to do with some tensions with others over different opinions to do with attracting more people to the area. This translated into how she said it too, she seemed to become tenser and her tone of voice changed' (Field diary extract, 16/8/2012).

Subtle distinctions emerged with participants using terms such as 'local locals' and regularly identifying how long people had lived in the area if they had moved there. Thus the 'resident' category is itself a precarious one. As identified in section 4.2 'local residents' were participants that lived in the case study area all their life, those with a family connection to the area (they themselves may not have lived in the area until later in life but had visited regularly when they were younger) and those that had moved to the area (both longer term and those who had moved more recently). Participants who had moved to the area included those who had moved through marriage (in some cases their partner had a connection to the case study area) or in some cases had visited the area regularly and decided to move. Similarly with visitors, there were those that had second homes in the areas and lived there for a few months of the year so they were neither local nor a short term visitor. Categories of 'local' and 'visitor' therefore became less important and instead identifying the backgrounds of the participants and how they would categorise themselves was more useful.

Key informants were primarily landscape managers or involved with landscape management within the two areas (see also section 4.2.3 for a discussion on the

difference between institutional and non-institutional key informants). They were also the target audience for this research. The role of the institutional key informants, namely SNH, was to provide a policy informed and practice-led context to landscape management. It was important to understand how this research, which was based all on qualitative data, could be meaningful for land managers to use in a more practicable way. Likewise, the institutional key informants of locally-based landscape management organisations provided the local context of what landscape management practices and stakeholder engagement methods were being utilised alongside discovering the challenges and successes that they had experienced[37]. These discussions provided the opportunity to outline the approach of the research and explore the potential that it might have to be adopted by landscape managers within management practices and stakeholder engagement. The analysis of interviews with local residents, visitors and key informants is provided in chapters 5-8 and has led to an initial 'tool-kit' to be developed as a response to this research (section 9.3.3).

As the following analysis chapters will show, initially responses between participants, whether notionally 'local' or 'visitor', did not appear to diverge greatly. However as chapter 7 and 8 will show these contested and fragmented labels also produced some tensions around landscape values and in turn ideas around how the landscape should be managed. This also raised some ethical challenges around who was being asked to take part in the research and how I interacted with the population within the case study areas, a point which is discussed further in section 4.8.

4.5 Walking interviews: performing and narrating the landscape

> '… we cannot simply walk into other people's worlds, and expect thereby to participate with them. To participate is not to walk into but to walk with – where 'with' implies not a face to face confrontation but heading the same way, sharing the same vistas, and perhaps retreating from the same threats[38] behind,' (Lee & Ingold 2006: 67, original emphasis).

[37] As will be identified in chapters 7 and 8 issues were identified in relation to stakeholder participation and engagement.

[38] The 'threat' Lee & Ingold (2006: 67) are discussing here is in reference to work conducted by Geertz (1973) within a Balinese village. Geertz argues that the villagers did not 'see' these 'privileged anthropological visitors' – his wife was also there – until they ran away with the villagers after the police raided the village upon hearing of a cockfight which Geertz and his wife were attending. After this Geertz describes the fieldwork as opening out successfully as they were able to participate more fully with the villagers and the social life of the village. Though such an event was highly unlikely to be an issue for this

Lee & Ingold (2006) emphasize that walking does not, in and of itself, automatically yield an embodied experience or facilitate participation. Yet as O'Neill & Hubbard (2010: 50) identify with their own research[39] what emerged through doing their research using walking interviews and the subsequent reflection on the walk at post-walk workshops was 'that there had been a sharing of sensuous, kinaesthetic experiences' between those that had taken part. Walking therefore allowed the potential of a more shared bodily and sensory experience for both the participant and researcher.

This section will begin by discussing how the walking interviews were done in the field, identifying the potential and limitations of the method based on notes taken in my field diary and feedback from participants, (section 4.5.1). This is then followed by two sections which consider two key aspects of the walking interview, firstly the sociability of walking and how relationship dynamics between the researcher and participants played out (section 4.5.2) and how walking influenced a more embodied discussion of the landscape (section 4.5.3) thus feeding into discussions of a more embodied, performative and 'more-than-visual' approach to landscape[40].

4.5.1 'Doing' the walking method

An interview schedule for the interviews was developed (see appendix 1), however, after the first few interviews it seemed no longer necessary for me to refer to the schedule prior to the interview taking place. Indeed it was not possible to take the schedule out on a walk with participants as it would have been awkward to carry and look at the schedule whilst walking (particularly if it was windy or raining) as shown in the following field diary extract:

> 'It made it more difficult to ask questions when you're just stood there, fumbling over quite a few questions – felt a bit stupid then! But I think it's something to do with walking and moving, your brain has to move with you and you don't necessarily focus too much on the wording of the question when you're walking because you also have to concentrate on what's around you and where you need to place your feet and you just have to move on to the next question' (Field diary extract, 26/4/2013).

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research it does highlight the need to be aware of the potential power-relations between researcher and participants.

[39] Their research explored the sense of belonging as negotiated by asylum seekers, refugees and undocumented migrants in the English East Midlands through walking interviews and arts-based work.

[40] These discussions specifically focus on the method of walking interviews. Walking in relation to exploring and knowing 'landscape' is explored furthered in chapter 6.

Initially I looked over the schedule prior to doing a walk generally as a reminder of the key topics that I wanted to discuss and so if they weren't mentioned by the participant I could then prompt with particular questions. This was, however, soon abandoned. As the quotation above suggests it quickly became apparent that a schedule felt to me more of a barrier to being able to ask questions and the landscape itself provided the prompts I needed. Furthermore, I hoped to create an environment where I was less central and could be more open to participants' ideas, issues and experiences of landscape without introducing my own biases. In so doing I hoped that it was the participants who ultimately identified the key issues within each case study area, related to their experiences of landscape, their landscape values or attitudes towards landscape management.

Due to the unpredictability of what participants might discuss due to the unstructured nature of the interviews, recording them was key. When conducting the initial walking interviews I carried a Dictaphone along in my hand. This proved to be quite cumbersome and the Dictaphone also became quite obvious to the participants, making them aware that they were being recorded, although they were informed and consent was gained prior to the walk taking place. I then started using a small microphone which was attached to the participant's collar and then the Dictaphone placed into one of their pockets. This proved much more effective and participants would often forget that they had it there. This encouraged a more sociable atmosphere on the walks, making them feel less like an interview. The sociable aspect of the walking interview is discussed further in the following section.

The walking interviews lasted between one and six hours[41], but on average were between two and three hours, with varying lengths of walks undertaken. Some participants chose a walk that they did often and so knew very well and had specific things that they wanted to show me: a certain view, animal tracks or a favourite spot with a memory attached to it. In contrast others did walks that they had not done before and so used the research as an excuse to try them. This difference between walks altered the relationship between the researcher and the participant. When participants were doing a walk they were unfamiliar with there were more times during the walk where

[41] Interviews which did not involve a walk were more likely to last between 50 minutes to two hours, with the exception of a long session on a boat.

there was joint negotiation between the participants and myself over which direction to go, as the following quotation illustrates:

> 'Ok so we're going to go and head off on the walk and then look at the lighthouse. So, (looking at the walk book) point one, follow the sheep track along the coastline, see that looks like, if you look at the map look (Clarke turns and shows me the map), there's the lighthouse there I think and it kind of points you over that way, (looks up from the book) I think it might be where that post is actually, we'll have a look,' (Clarke[42], visitor, Assynt).

In comparison participants who knew the route had control over where we walked as I was the one who didn't know the route and they would often start to take more of a 'leader' role, as the following quotation illustrates:

> 'There's a bit of a scramble to get right the way down to the bottom, I'm sure you can manage it … just wait till I've gone down a level to be sure that I've actually taken the right route 'cos I never take a mental note of these things, I just go,' (Georgia, visitor, Assynt).

On this walk we were going to look at a waterfall, the viewing area for which was reached by scrambling down a small rock face. On our way back up Georgia again was aware of what I was doing:

> **Georgia:** (to Amy) Just watch where I go … (slips slightly) or maybe don't! Have you been rock climbing before?
>
> **Amy:** Not until I came here!
>
> **Georgia:** Find your footholds, make sure your foot's steady before you move on and then find somewhere for your hands to go …

Walking interviews therefore encouraged a greater awareness of not only the landscape and what landmarks were within it but also highlighted how we were moving through it. I became more aware of these changing relationship dynamics between myself and the other participants the more interviews – both walking and sitting down – I did. Consequently this theme recurs and is discussed throughout the following sections, reflecting on the influence that it had over the interviews and what insights can be drawn from them.

[42] Anonymised pseudonyms are used throughout, see section 4.7.2 which discusses the writing strategy.

There was also the option given that if participants did not want to go for a walk they could suggest an alternative. Consequently, not all participants chose to go for a walk, as previously highlighted. This was for a number of reasons, including poor health of the participant or a family member which meant they did not want to leave the house, or that they did not have the time to do the walk but were willing to speak to me, usually at their place of work. There were also some participants who decided to do something different, these included sitting at a favourite spot outside or going out on a boat[43]. This highlights the potential for walking as a method to exclude some people from taking part in the research, particularly if participants feel they physically cannot take part. As I was keen to gain a number of perspectives, that the focus of the research was on landscape experience, which for some may not normally involve walking, and due to the semi-participatory nature of the research it was possible to provide the opportunity for people to talk to me without having to go for a walk, if this is what they preferred to do. The difference between the dynamics of the walking interviews and those that were done either sitting inside or outside became more apparent as more walking interviews were done. The following section now focuses specifically on the relationship dynamics that emerged between the researcher and the participants and how this influenced the research.

4.5.2 The sociability of walking

Clark and Emmel (2010) identify an increasing interest within research in adopting 'walking and talking' methods as opposed to just 'walking alongside' participants. In this the researcher, therefore, is not passive but instead an active member of the data collection. Within a 'traditional interview' there is the opportunity to engage face-to-face with the participant though the power relations that exist between the two are perhaps more physically felt. Within a walking interview, it is argued that the researcher is seeing and sensing what the participant is and Myers (2011: 188) further emphasizes that 'walking with another involves different dimensions of conviviality, including both social and environmental connections.' Walking, particularly through deciding routes to take or how to overcome potential obstacles encourages you to interact together.

[43] This only happened on one occasion and over seven hours were spent on the boat which also allowed the participant to bring in creels as it was a working fishing boat. Not all the time was spent talking about the research directly.

Primarily walks were conducted with only one participant and the researcher. By conducting the interviews whilst on a walk this encouraged a more conversational style of talking. There were also, however, a number of times when neither participant(s) nor researcher spoke:

> 'The walk appeared to have natural breaks in it which allowed for both of us to have a bit of quiet without it seeming like awkward silence' (Field diary extract, 24/8/2012, original emphasis).

Some participants commented that the 'natural breaks' in the walk helped them to gather their thoughts in response to particular questions that would not, perhaps, always be possible in more traditional interviews, as shown in the following quotation from an interview with, Laura (local resident, Applecross):

> 'Well I'll tell you the truth erm, yes I found it much better than an interview I did recently which was the same sort of thing which actually I did pull out of 'cos erm that was a sitting down one and it seemed like you didn't have any gaps, you know when you're walking you can have some silences can't you as you're going along.'

Laura went on to highlight that these 'natural breaks' gave her the opportunity to think about a question that I had asked and how she would respond. Similarly from a researcher's perspective the 'natural breaks' and the changes between walking single file and walking alongside the participants meant that there were opportunities to take in what a participant had spoken about and begin to think about questions to ask from that. Alongside this, however, was also the possibility for some questions to be forgotten or for some remarks not to be explored further as participants might continue to talk and there was no a way to keep making notes on paper. In many cases, however, participants did say that if there were any follow up questions to ask they would be happy to answer them.

This does highlight, however, a critique of the walking method. If some questions remain unasked this raises the question of whether it challenges how robust it is as a way of investigating how people experience the landscape. Perhaps more crucially for this research, it also raised the question of which knowledge is most important or valuable, what is asked by the researcher and is responded to or what participants bring up – to a certain extent – unprompted, or at least not directly prompted by the

researcher. The latter, I would argue, allows the participant to engage more with the research and also the landscapes around them, rather than relying on questions informed by what I had read from the literature prior to undertaking the research 'in the field'. O'Neill & Hubbard (2010) similarly indicated through their research that walking interviews became an exploratory and revelatory process.

There were also walks that included two people and the researcher and one with four others and the researcher. Consequently the dynamics between the people on the walk and how they negotiated between each other became part of the experience as shown in the following extract from the research diary from a walk with a group of four local residents[44] in Assynt:

> 'Chloe was the only one who knew the way to get there [an old soldier's house] but the two men went off in front quite a few times at the beginning of the walk, Chloe was walking slower and I began talking to her and Phoebe at first. This was constantly shifting though and there were a number of times that the group stopped to make sure we were going on the right route as there was an old track to the house but many parts were covered in heather making it difficult to see' (Field diary extract, 16/05/2013).

This walk of all the walks conducted was perhaps the most unstructured due to it being done with four people and myself, the different paces of each of the participants and the movement between us all:

> 'It felt more like I was joining the group for a walk than the walk being done for the research. The research didn't really seem to be apparent very much through the walk so when I asked questions I felt quite obvious sometimes and I felt like in some ways when I asked 'obvious' research questions I was disrupting the walk. Though I did think I got quite an accurate experience of them being on a walk and I felt – and I think the others felt (?!) – quite relaxed' (Field diary extract, 16/05/2013).

Consequently multi-person walks, to a certain extent, did make asking questions more difficult, though perhaps provided more ethnographic data of how people interact with other people and the landscape than in a one-on-one walk. The walks that involved two or more participants along with the researcher generally encouraged and emphasized the more social aspects of walking primarily because there was another person to respond to

[44] All four of the local residents had moved to Assynt but had repeatedly been up there on holidays previously too.

questions or comments made by the participants. It also meant that conversation could move away from the topic of landscape, as for example a walk done with a mother and her teenage daughter who were visiting Applecross. At one point during the walk there was about ten minutes spent talking about presents for the daughter's birthday and Christmas. On this occasion it was the mother rather than myself who tried to move the conversation back to landscape:

> 'Bonnie started talking about what she wanted for her Christmas present, and Arlene seemed keen to change the subject, perhaps in the hope that Bonnie would forget or because she was aware that this was an interview she was doing for me, I'm not sure?! Either way though it was interesting how the conversation did move on, quite naturally in some ways and we found our way back to talking about landscapes through how things have changed with what children want to play with' (Field diary extract, 19/08/2012).

By moving and being outside in the open air the interactions with the landscape – deciding which path to take, walking around muddy and boggy areas and having to change walking beside each other to walking in single file – often distracted both participant and researcher from the fact that it was an interview leading it to feel like more of a conversation. This in particular highlighted the relationship and the (re)negotiations that occurred between the researcher and participant throughout the walk but also once the walk was completed and how as a researcher I then left not only the field but the participants with whom I had actively shared time, emotions and space. It also illustrates the relationship with the landscapes through the encounters with them and how central they became within the walks. The following section focusses on this more embodied and performative aspect of the walking interviews.

4.5.3 Walking as an embodied performance

> '… even if I didn't speak you would still have got the idea of what I like, you know,' (Trisha, local resident, Applecross).

Participants who went on walks, such as Trisha, would often reflect during the walking interview that they not only needed to talk about the landscape but could show me what they were trying to talk about. Furthermore the same participant commented that through doing the walk, I, as a researcher, would get a more personal experience of the walk and the landscape because I could see and feel what she did by being on the walk with her, a walk that she does nearly every day with her dog. Lee & Ingold (2006: 72)

argue that through walking and talking to people a 'double awareness' becomes apparent. The first is that people 'progress outwards to perceive their surroundings in a detailed way, and secondly, they can also turn inwards to the realm of thoughts and the self' (*ibid*.). As previously highlighted in section 4.5.2 the walks did encourage moments of silence between the participant and myself. These were sometimes in response to physical obstacles that needed to be negotiated or we had to move into single-file walking. The movement of walking, however, also allowed what Claudia (visitor, Applecross) suggested were situations where:

> '… you walk and often seem to get much further, not just physically but I mean in terms of finding solutions or just coming to terms with things or seeing things in a more wholesome or constructive way.'

Lee and Ingold (2006: 68) similarly reflect on walking interviews arguing that:

> '… the locomotive (or getting around) aspect of walking allows for an understanding of places being created by routes. A place walked through is made by the shifting interaction of person and environment, in which the movement of the whole body is important rather than just an act of vision outwards from a fix point.'

The embodied nature of walking, in particular the awareness of how the body moves through the landscape as suggested by Lee and Ingold in the quotation above, became much more apparent the more walks that were conducted. In particular, I began to reflect on how aware I became of my own physical (in)ability compared to the participants when walks included slightly more challenging aspects:

> '… scrambling, oh scrambling! I used to be a bit scared of scrambling but now I've been on a number of walks where people have just walked across these boulders or jagged bedrock of the coast. It's funny both Jake and Carol in particular just seemed to walk like normal as if there were no gaping gaps between the boulders and the rock … I felt so cumbersome and slow! My old technique of getting as close to the ground first though seems to work … less distance to fall!' (Field diary extract, 21/5/2013).

The way people were (un)able to walk in certain environments and the awareness they had of their body in the landscapes became much more apparent during the walking interviews because there were challenges and obstacles of varying degrees of difficulty encountered whilst out walking. As shown in the following extract from the walking

interview with Jake in Assynt I found it difficult to do the walk because of the rocky terrain. I have inter-cut the transcript with extra contextual detail in italics to provide a sense of the landscape and how Jake and I approached this particular 'challenge':

> *Jake and I are walking around his coastal croft and have made our way around the landward boundary, firstly through some boggy, heather areas, then a small wooded area which was along the coastline boundary. I had already had to rely on Jake showing me how to use a rope to pull myself up a small rock face which involved me swinging in the wrong direction and Jake having to steady me onto the rock. We continued through a more wooded section of the croft before making our way down to the coastline which consisted of bedrock with large gullies between sections of rock and large boulders. Jake has begun to talk about how he feels quite comfortable 'striding' across the rocks because he has walked across them for so many years. We are now beginning to make our way uphill back to the landward area of his croft and he is deciding which would be the best way to go.*
>
> **Jake:** It's all a bit slimy in there for you actually err, but if you're prepared to jump the walk, are you prepared to jump, if you watch what I do?
>
> **Amy:** Yeah.
>
> Jake without hesitation starts to walk up to show me how to do it and then turns around to help guide and encourage me up the rocks.
>
> **Jake:** Yeah, just a big stride and keep moving, that's the way, onto that one, big stride.
>
> **Amy:** I always say I can do anything if I'm made to do it! (Jake laughs)
>
> **Jake:** Yeah, that's one of the reasons that I wear wellington boots all the time, I even climb mountains in them.

Jake often walks around his croft and so knows the landscape very intimately. Jake also specifically highlights his footwear and how he feels more comfortable walking when he wears them, so allowing him to walk more confidently across the coastal rocks compared to myself where I felt I needed to be forced into doing something – in the sense that there isn't really another option available – in order to do it. Therefore how people experience the landscape and how they react and respond to it possibly becomes much more evident when shared on a walk than may have been possible in a more traditional interview situation. The embodied nature of the walking method, and

walking more generally, and the influence this has on how people experience and feel about the landscape is discussed further in chapter 6.

It was hoped through adopting walking interviews that the more embodied experience of being-in-the-landscape would become more apparent and indeed as highlighted this did occur, perhaps more so than in those that were conducted in-doors. It was also important for this research to understand how participants could articulate these experiences in a form other than talking about them during the walks by using arts-based methods. The following section now looks at these methods and how they were conducted.

4.6 Arts-based methods: the process and being 'more-than-visual'

Della Dora (2009: 354) has argued that visual images of landscapes, whether paintings, photographs and postcards, 'generally continue to be approached by geographers iconographically as static bidimensional images which are worth studying for what they represent (rather than as objects per se).' Furthermore Roberts (2012) argues that thinking of images as 'static' moves the image away from the viewer and, I would argue, also from the creator of that image. Yet in the past decade the use of artistic practices within social science research has been increasing (Rose 2014; Dwyer & Davies 2010; Leavy 2009). The emergence of arts-based methods, Leavy (2009: 9) argues, has 'unsetl[ed] many assumptions about what constitutes research and knowledge.' The work in cultural geography around performativity, Nash (2000: 660) argues, has 'move[d] towards practices rather than representations'. This highlights, for this research, the importance of considering the process of creating images as well as the end product. Section 4.6.1 looks at the method reflexively in terms of how it was implemented in the fieldwork. This is then followed by discussion of two of the major challenges that arose when using arts-based methods, namely ideas around art as process or product (section 4.6.2) and it being 'more-than-visual' (section 4.6.3).

4.6.1 'Doing' the arts-based methods

Section 4.2.2 has already highlighted the number of participants who provided arts-based material and what they did. Photography was the most popular method chosen by participants. Participants were given the option to make something whilst on the walk or they could do something at a later date. Of the twenty-three who did engage in arts-based methods, eight participants did not create their arts-based material during or in

response to the research but provided material they had already made. Generally these participants were those that may do this as part of their livelihood or a long-term hobby. In this case participants chose something they wanted to show to reflect some of the issues that they had discussed and generally provided more than one example of it. For example one participant, who was a keen amateur photographer in Applecross, provided 18 photographs he had taken to reflect different aspects that were spoken about during his interview and a participant who is a published writer provided 2 poems. All participants were still asked what it was that they created, why they had done it the way they had and why they chose this to show me in order to encourage participants to reflect on what they had done. The aim of this was to reduce researcher subjectivity on the analysis of the arts-based works. The extent to which this was possible is discussed further in section 4.7.

Of the 49 participants, 26 participants chose not to take part in this method of the research. There were a number of factors which contributed to this: how comfortable participants felt in their ability to do something artistic; weather during the walk which meant people did not want to stay still but just to keep on walking; lack of time to do something extra. Participants were consequently reminded that participation in all aspects of the research was voluntary and they could choose to only take part in the walk or if they did choose to try the arts methods they should do something that they felt most comfortable with using. In two cases this was done collaboratively, one for taking a photograph and one for taking a video. In both instances the participants directed the researcher by saying what should be the subject and the composition. For the video the participant also decided how long the video should be.

Within this research due to the arts-based method being used alongside the walks, those participants that did not want to do something arts-based could still take part in the research by doing an interview either on a walk, or where they chose, and so overcome the potential of participants not wanting to take part at all. In cases where participants did not engage with the arts-based methods, asking them to contribute something artistic led to discussions around the role of art with landscape and how people responded to it. Similarly some participants discussed the work of others, particularly more well-known poets, books and music. In this instance discussion became more about broader cultural influences and how they may have influenced how the participant then encountered the landscape. One participant, Frank in Assynt, for example, discussed reading ‘Swallows

and Amazons' as a child and felt that he had never lost a desire to explore and that was why he enjoyed being in the landscape of Assynt so much as it allowed him to get that experience[45].

The use of arts-based methods, therefore, was an effective tool through which participants could further engage with visual and the 'more-than-visual' aspects of the landscape, though it clearly also has limitations. It highlighted that landscapes are simultaneously visual and more-than-visual, and in particular encouraged these kinds of discussions even when the participants did not undertake the arts-based methods themselves. The following section focusses specifically on the contrast between the creation of arts-based products and the end result.

4.6.2 Art as product or process

The arts-based methods raised a number of challenges and particularly raised ethical questions of the validity of the method when participants raised concerns about undertaking it. The aim of using this method was to see how participants would use other means to articulate their experience of landscape. Part of participants' concern in using these methods, however, was that they would not be able to do this due to a lack of skill, as described by Janine (visitor, Applecross):

> 'I don't think I'd like to try [drawing], taking a picture is much better than drawing something, I'm not a person who can draw … but part of my erm, thing, I've got to say isn't about taking photographs or even visualising what I'm seeing afterwards, if you know what I mean. That is part of why I enjoy a walk but you might take photographs because you like to take photographs of what you've seen … yes to me it's not just, because I'm not a visual, well I am a visual person. It's not a, it's not a record in my brain of what I've seen, if you know what I mean, it's a whole feeling.'

Through asking participants to take part in the arts-based methods, this made some, such as Janine, challenge themselves and how they encountered the landscape which may not have been brought about by the walking interviews alone. Though Janine did take photographs on the walk a critique of the method is that it may exclude potential

[45] Other popular cultural material mentioned by participants included; The Gruffalo, Lord of the Rings, fairy tales, poetry by Norman McCaig (this poetry was specifically mentioned in Assynt) a piece of music 'Land of the mountain and flood' by Hamish McCunn and traditional Gaelic songs. The role of popular cultural products, such as paintings, poems and literature, are discussed further in relation to landscape management in chapter 7.

participants from the research due to a perceived need to have some form of skill, as illustrated by the following:

> 'I asked whether he [the participants] would be willing to do something 'creative' but said that wasn't something he felt like he could do, instead he said how if his wife were still alive then she would be the person to ask, saying she was much more 'talented' than he was' (Field diary extract, 19/5/2013).

The hesitancy of some participants to this aspect of the research, however, did raise the question of whether it was ethical to ask participants to undertake something they felt uncomfortable with[46].

Overall though many of the participants either said they did not want to do something or asked me to help them with what they wanted to do. Despite less than half of participants electing to take part in this aspect of the research, for those who did, the *process of doing* provided a means through which participants began to think more critically about landscapes and how they experience them. This also raised questions around representation. Due to the different skill levels the primary importance of the arts-based method wasn't solely on what and how participants chose to represent their work but how the arts-based methods helped them to articulate their experiences. The following section focuses on how the arts-based methods and the discussions around them with participants moved beyond being about representation.

4.6.3 Moving beyond representation

As previously highlighted, there was a mix of 'skill level' and experience between the participants in relation to using the arts methods with some people's living based around the method they used, some for whom it was a keen hobby and others who may have used a method intermittently or not at all. The aim of using this method, however, was not just to examine how the landscape was represented but how participants could use art as a means to access more emotional and subjective factors that contribute to their experience of the landscape and so help them to articulate how they value the landscape. In turn the question was also around whether such methods could contribute to wider landscape management practices[47]. Tolia-Kelly (2007: 337) argues that the use of more

[46] The challenges and potential of a more participatory ethics approach is discussed further in section 4.8.

[47] This is discussed in detail in chapter 8.

arts-based methods allows a move to the more 'multisensorial expression' of landscapes rather than just focussing on the visual. Thus this section furthers the discussion in the previous section that emphasised the process of creation, and develops the argument that this approach, along with the walking interviews, is also explicitly 'more-than-representational'. Both methods seek to offer 'an escape from the established academic habit of striving to uncover meanings and values that apparently await our discovery, interpretation, judgement and ultimate representation' (Lorimer 2005: 84) and instead allow these to emerge through the doing of them[48].

Prosser (2011: 480) argues that central to visual studies more broadly is the relationship between words and images, namely how these images are represented, and asking if the space is used up mostly with words or images, which is the most influential, whether it is necessary to translate images into words and provide captions to the image. I have previously stated that I asked participants to reflect on the arts-based material they had provided me with/created during the research and so returned to a more discursive form. The questions raised by Prosser, however, are ones that I challenged myself with during the research. To illustrate this issue, if I was to place the following image within the text

without a caption, the question is raised over how much of the meaning behind why the painting was done, and why it was composed as it was, can be conveyed without supporting words. There is the potential that without explanation the painting could be seen as static, the critique that Della Dora (2009) articulates about moving beyond just

[48] It should also be noted that there is an inherent challenge when attempting to be more than representational when writing a thesis in that findings will always need to be represented in some form. The challenges of this are discussed further in section 4.7.

the representational[49]. This raises a key methodological (and analytical) challenge for this research around how the arts-based material is re-presented as part of this written thesis and also as part of the feedback events and this is now discussed in the following two sections.

4.7 Analysis Framework

Due to the novel nature of the methods undertaken, multiple ways of analysing them were adopted. O'Neill (2008: 7) argues that through performative and practice based methods 'knowledge is produced ... towards a more sensuous understanding that incorporates feeling involvement as well as cognitive reflection.' In response to this, both during and after the walk, participants were asked to reflect on the walk itself and the arts-based material to allow the participants to be involved not only with the production of the images but also the analysis of them in line with the semi-participatory approach (Kindon *et al.* 2007). This section therefore, aims to explore the ways that aspects of participatory research were incorporated within the research.

There is also a need to be critical of these responses, to consider the contexts in which the encounters are experienced (Lorimer 2007) and arts-based responses are created. Therefore broader cultural processes – and social and economic processes – must also be considered. This is in response to Kesby & Gwanzura-Ottemoller (2007: 74) who argue that within participatory research there should be a process of 'interviewing the diagram' that takes place whereby emphasis is placed on how the participants have described and explained what they have produced rather than the analysis being solely researcher-led.

As previously identified there is a tension between art as product and art as process. Clover (2011) and Rose (2012) identify as a potential critique of arts-based research the fact that it focuses too much on the end product and not the process involved in its creation with the potential that rather than allowing greater communication of experiences and emotions, the material 'does not communicate' Eisner (2008: 19). In response to this, and to Clover (2011) and Rose (2012), in asking the participants to

[49] This is a painting that I did for a Christmas card that I was giving to my parents. The composition of the painting is looking towards the 'Old Man of Storr' from the Applecross peninsula. The painting is based on a photograph that I had taken in Applecross on a day-trip with friends over the New Year period 2010/2011 before I had decided to do the research in Applecross. I chose to do this landscape because of the shared history and memories my parents and I have from visiting Skye for a number of years, though at this point I had not been to Applecross with them. I generally paint in a style to add colour and texture to paintings, to try and capture a sense of the movement within the landscape.

begin to describe and explain what they had produced and how they did it, the emphasis was not only on the material but also the *process* of its creation, for example, the emotions and experiences felt, memories that were recollected. There is however a tension that arises here. Due to the return to more discursive forms of explanation this challenges much of the above discussion which advocates the use of both walking interviews and arts-based methods due to their ability to overcome potential deficiencies or inadequacies of language in engaging with complex and ambiguous values, experiences and emotions. Leavy (2009: 19), however, indicates that the role of emotion when using arts-based methods is part of the creation of the 'art', describing them as 'important signals' and 'validity checkpoints' during the creation of the 'art'. In so doing the return to a discursive explanation of the 'art' produced can be complemented and/or directed by the process of walking and 'art' creation.

Prosser (2011), Sava & Nuutinen (2003) and Leavy (2009) highlight the challenges facing research that incorporates both words and pictures. Sava & Nuutinen (2003: 532 original emphasis) emphasize the role of 'third space' where word and image meet and which is '*strongly experiential, sensory, multi-interpretive, like a fleeting shadow, intuitive and ever changing*'. Furthermore the authors argue that this 'meeting place' should be regarded as '*a mixed stream of fluids,* as something multi-layered, not known, always to be created anew, as the field of many understandings' (*ibid*., original emphasis). Though theoretically this provides tremendous scope through which to analyse, reflect and discuss the data academically, the practical application of this data for potential landscape management discussions and strategies however could be lessened, as will be explored in chapter 8.

As highlighted by O'Neill & Hubbard (2010: 47), however, there is then difficulty in beginning to articulate these experiences without 'lapsing into the languages and practices of sedentary and rational social science.' There are therefore three potential issues raised by Sava & Nuutinen (2003) which are of relevance to this research:

1. How to articulate what the participants wished to show through what they created:
2. How can the arts-based material be combined with the narratives of the interviews:
3. How to then articulate this in a way that is meaningful to management and policy audiences.

Tolia-Kelly (2007b) argues, however, that visual processes can be used to triangulate qualitative methods and so create a 'dialogic space' where learning and communication is two-way between participants and researcher. Triangulation here, similar to Sava & Nuutinen's (2003) 'third space' above, becomes a means through which to create space where something unexpected or new can emerge (Flick 2004), as opposed to 'playing each method off against the other,' as Denzin (1978: 304) has previously described triangulation. The analysis, therefore aims to analyse all the methods together rather than one used for certain results and one for another. The following sections therefore outline how the analysis was undertaken (section 4.7.1) followed by a discussion on the writing strategy for the thesis and the reasons for this (section 4.7.2).

4.7.1 How the analysis was undertaken

The approach to the analysis was an inductive and recursive one. As Bryman (2008: 541) has indicated, the development of ideas, concepts and conclusions through the analysis process is grounded in the data produced through fieldwork, with analysis, '[proceeding] in tandem, repeatedly referring back.' The primary aim of undertaking the analysis in this way was to allow the voices of the participants to emerge and to continue the participatory ethic of collaboration. The participants, therefore, identified the key issues together with me.

Two fundamental forms of analysis were undertaken, thematic/conceptual and a more process-focussed analysis. The former involved reading through the content of the interview transcriptions and the arts-based materials and coding them in relation to the thematic and conceptual discussions outlined in chapter 2. The latter, in comparison, takes into account contextual information of the walks – for example, the ground walked on, the weather – and how participants may have then talked about the landscape and how the arts-based material was created. In order to carry out the primary analysis work and to help store the outcomes of the analysis NVivo software was used. A process of emic and etic coding was undertaken[50] whereby the first stage of coding was to use participants' own words as descriptive codes (Cope 2003: 452). Etic or analytic codes were then developed based on these.

Alongside this, however, was my own creation of videos, posters and artworks as aspects of the analysis (rather than those produced by participants). These were done

[50] Refer to appendix 5 for an example of a coding tree developed in NVivo.

primarily at the initial analysis stage in tandem with coding the interviews and arts-based materials within NVivo. They were created for specific events such as the feedback events as well as academic conferences. The process of creating these materials began to develop conceptual themes within the data as they needed to be able to stand alone – with little description needed to be given by a third person – and tell a particular story about the research. Though their creation was not necessarily by participants or in collaboration with the participants, through using them within the feedback events (see section 4.2.4) participants could see what was created and comment on them.

4.7.2 Writing strategy

Pain (2004: 658) has argued that the advocates of participatory research, despite critiques it has received around having a 'glossy (or glossed over) presentation', have undertaken multiple ways of presenting the research. Central to this presentation of work is a focus on the ways in which participants self-represent rather than being represented by 'those with authority.' Due to the semi-participatory nature of this research this section highlights the ways in which the writing strategy developed.

Bingham (2003: 146) argues that the 'assumption that writing up is unproblematic and transparent in practice is a direct consequence of it being assumed to be unproblematic and transparent in theory.' This chapter has already highlighted the complexity that has arisen through the analysis of walking interviews and arts-based methods, particularly when emphasis is placed on the embodied 'doing' of them as well as the end products. As with the doing of the research the writing process has been similarly reflexive. On a more practical level, due to the ethical considerations in relation to participant anonymity and confidentiality there was a need to consider how quotations and art works were included and identified in the thesis. All quotations and arts-based material within the thesis have a different anonymised pseudonym used to help prevent participants being identified[51]. Likewise, when participants mentioned activities that would identify them, the case study they were associated with was removed. The nature of working in small communities, however, makes complete anonymity difficult to achieve, as discussed in section 4.8.2.

[51] Some participants who supplied arts-based material requested that their name be included within the thesis. To try and maintain anonymity anonymous pseudonyms have been kept throughout the analysis chapters of the thesis however those participants have been acknowledged at the beginning of the thesis.

Conceptually, the dualisms argued by Wylie (2007) to be central to discussions of landscape and discussed in the literature review – proximity/distance, observation/habitation, eye/land and nature/culture – along with the dualism of culture/spectacle argued by Macdonald (2008) and Macdonald (2002), helped to inform and challenge much of the discussion within the thesis. As such the way that the arts-based methods have been displayed in the text has been done in such a way as to challenge how they may traditionally be presented. Morris (1988) has done this in her own work where she places two photographs of landscapes on top of the other within the text. They are apparently taken in the same position but one is looking out and the other at the photographer's feet. The text is similarly split with the top half being critical and analytical about what the photographs are showing. In comparison the bottom half is a personal reflection on the photographs as they are being presented. She discusses the way that they are being represented on the page:

> '[The photographs] are utterly different, joltingly so; … the empty immensity of distance there repeatedly confronts the minute detail of surface here…' (Morris, 1988: 142).

The writing style, therefore, simultaneously acts to re-present the work of the photographer but also moved beyond the representational to critically reflect on what can and cannot be seen in the images, often both agreeing with and challenging the dualisms proposed by Wylie.

Within this thesis the arts-based materials produced by participants have been used in more 'traditional' ways to illustrate points being made within the main body of text. Material has also been used between chapters. The aim of this is to help set the scene for the writing to come as well as allowing for pauses within the writing for the reader to reflect on what has been written and what is to come. Like a walk where pauses in the rhythmic movement can be experienced these chapter breaks allow for thoughts to emerge and to be challenged. Due to the lack of words from me within these breaks, they are dedicated solely to the participants of the research. As far as possible the writing of these chapters is done in such a way as to allow the voices of the participants

to come through, however, due to the nature of thesis writing my voice as the author, alongside any potential bias could come through[52].

4.8 A participatory ethics: challenges and potential

Ethical considerations for participatory research, Stringer (2014: 89), argues 'work in a special way,' in that participants have relatively more control over the research process than is usually accorded to research participants. This can, however, result in more challenging and on-going ethical questions that the researcher – in this case me – must deal with. Manzo & Brightbill (2007: 33) argue that participatory research, though often advocated for its desire for the research to be led by the participants and so disrupt 'traditional power' relations between researcher and participant, can in practice be 'more riddled with dilemmas than other forms of research.' Furthermore, they argue that in order to achieve genuine participatory research, ethics must be a constant concern, not something that is done and dispensed with at the research design phase and prior to going into the field. Though this research was semi-participatory in its approach, ethical issues were a constant consideration throughout the research process, from developing the project and the methodology through to writing the thesis.

This section considers the ethical challenges that arose through the research process, with particular focus on those that evolved through being in the field and in the representation of the research. Section 4.8.1 focusses on the influence of participants' perception of my 'independence' from environmental and social groups within each case study area and the general extent to which I was able to be an 'independent' researcher. Section 4.8.2 explores the challenge of participant confidentiality and anonymity within small communities. Despite the ethical challenges that arose it is also important to recognise their contribution to the research process, in particular, how these challenges facilitated – often unexpectedly – further insights by contextualising and complementing what was consciously provided by the participants.

4.8.1 An independent researcher?

Land and landscape remains an emotive issue in both case study areas and more broadly in the Highlands of Scotland and as such there are some strong opinions around how

[52] See section 4.9 where I critical reflect on the research process as a whole as well as my positionality within the research.

landscapes should be managed. Thrift (2003: 105) highlights that ethical dilemmas that are encountered on fieldwork can often be a response to the unknown 'small and unspoken ethical ground 'rules' that make up everyday life, rules which you have arduously to construct.' A number of participants – primarily those that lived in the area though not exclusively so – warned there was a danger of me appearing to support or align with certain groups or people within the area and so discourage some others from wanting to take part. In Applecross, for example, one participant showed some initial reluctance to be involved in the research as there was an assumption that I may have been doing the research for the landowners[53] and giving information directly to them. Due to the control that the landowners still have in the area people were concerned with being identified for saying something controversial and so potentially causing tension for themselves.

In both case study areas, due to the different opinions and agendas amongst the community, underlying tensions exist around who has the influence and the power over decision-making over landscape management[54]. It was important in these situations to emphasise that I was not working for and had not been funded by any group within the two communities. Though people remained wary when talking about particular subjects – namely around ownership and representation within the management[55] of the areas – they were willing to take part in the research, with one participant in Assynt suggesting that perhaps these issues need to be discussed more openly in order to air these tensions and move the discussion on. This did, however, make me very aware of the research that I was doing and of creating the space – through doing the walks with people and the feedback events – in which these issues could be discussed openly and of bringing people with different views together within that space, something which may potentially cause further tension within the areas. I particularly reflected on this after one walk completed during the follow-up week in Applecross, when the participant (a local resident) chose to turn off the Dictaphone at the end of the walk as discussion began to turn to the Applecross Trust (estate owners):

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[53] It should be noted that some people within Applecross see the Applecross Trust as family landowners even though it is a charitable trust with a board of trustees. The relationship between the Trust and community will be discussed further in chapter 8.

[54] This will be discussed in greater detail in the chapter 8 which looks at management and power.

[55] Management here refers to housing, school roll and business development as well as landscape management.

> ‘I came away from this interview feeling particularly nervous about how the feedback sessions would go and also whether I should do a feedback session, could I cause unnecessary upset within the community where there already appears to be some quite raw wounds? I know in the previous area people said that this should be brought out into the open but I’m increasingly questioning whether I should and whether I am the right one to do it’ (Field diary extract, 15/7/2013, original emphasis).

At different points throughout conducting the research I found myself questioning whether I should – ethically – be doing the research for this reason. Despite these moments of hesitation and doubt, however, I also remembered those participants that had been keen to hear the findings of the research. Despite the tensions, participants expressed an interest in seeing how the issues around people, landscape and landscape management could be addressed.

Similarly, some participants were keen to stress that I should, as a researcher, be aiming to get as broad a view as possible and not just settle for those who would be willing to talk to me from a certain viewpoint, particularly those who they perceived to be either uncritical about how things were being managed or living a ‘green lifestyle’. These two ‘groups’ of people in particular were highlighted as they were considered to be the most vocal, particularly in Assynt. As such some participants perceived that these groups would prevent change and greater use of the land from happening in favour of ‘protecting’ the land rather than directly supporting the livelihoods of the people who live in it and development that may encourage more people to move to the area[56]. I was keen to assure participants that I wanted to speak to as many different people as possible in order to gain a number of perspectives, values and agendas. I then asked if they would recommend others that would talk to me in order to achieve this.

The extent to which I achieved being an ‘independent’ researcher as perceived by the participants of the research was aided by being someone from ‘outside’ the local area and coming in not having an affiliation to a particular group within the community. Perhaps more difficult were my own personal perceptions of my independence in relation to maintaining researcher objectivity when talking to multiple people with different opinions and ideas about landscape and landscape management and not feeling drawn to particular arguments over others. This challenge is discussed in further detail

[56] The different agendas people articulated in relation to landscape management are discussed further in chapter 7 and 8.

in section 4.9 in the more reflexive discussions on the research process. This challenge of independence as perceived by the participants did, however, raise issues of confidentiality and anonymity as due to the small populations within these areas, it was likely that people would soon know who got involved with the research. It is to ethical issues of confidentiality that the discussion now turns.

4.8.2 Confidentiality in small communities

Related to the concerns identified in the previous section, confidentiality and anonymity were ethical considerations that kept recurring throughout the research process from being in the case study areas through to writing the thesis. Consequently, reflection on these ethical questions was needed and became influential for how both the research and writing was approached. This section discusses the ways in which ethical challenges arose in the field and in the writing up stages and how they were responded to.

Clark & Emmel (2010) identify two main ethical issues that became evident whilst conducting their walking interviews, albeit in urban areas. The first was that maintaining confidentiality of the participants was not possible due to walking interviews being outside and so there was the potential to be seen in the company of the researcher. The second was the need to stay aware of gaining informed consent from non-participants that were encountered during the walk, to make them aware that there was a recorder and to provide an outline of the research. Both of these issues were encountered within my research and shape my discussion here.

On the first issue, within this research many of the participants who took part were quite happy or unconcerned that they would be seen by others in their local area to be taking part in the research. For the written part of the research, however, there was more concern over being identified over certain opinions that they expressed, particularly if they mentioned other people's names. Therefore, if participants asked for that part of the interview not to be used it was not transcribed and careful consideration was taken in anonymising all the participants as far as possible, through using pseudonyms and being careful in how quotations from interview transcripts were used. During the feedback events, for example, the anonymity question was always at the forefront of my mind and as a means of maintaining anonymity a different pseudonym was used for every quotation used from interviews. It was therefore more difficult for people who were looking at the display to begin to group certain quotations together and then

potentially identify a participant, this approach (and feedback from it) then followed through into the thesis.

Related to participant anonymity was anonymity of the case study areas. There were multiple discussions between my supervisor and me around whether the areas should be anonymised or not. The conclusion of this is evident already with actual place names used throughout the thesis, however, in reaching this decision I decided I would ask those who attended the feedback events how they felt about me naming the area. This question was initially received with quiet and then joking about re-naming the area after a particular person who was attending. This did then lead to a discussion and one person at the Applecross feedback event argued that, 'I could not harm them' with the research and that any publicity would be good if it meant that more people visited the area. There was a similar response in Assynt and though there seemed to be agreement with this from others who attended both events I was unsure that the issue had been fully resolved, particularly as some participants during their interview had talked about there being too many people coming to the area. Overall though, the landscapes and the case studies themselves were considered so integral to the research and due to the positive response of the participants to identifying the areas the final decision was made to name them. This did mean, however, that the means of anonymising the research participants was more crucial.

In relation to Clark and Emmel's second point, when other people were encountered on the walks and other activities the participants would either inform them that they were talking to me as part of the research or quite often the recorder was not mentioned[57]. However, in a number of cases when the walking interview began again participants would ask if the interlude would be deleted from the interview. Participants were assured that those encounters would not be transcribed. Again though, participants did not seem to be worried about this kind of encounter on the walk. Within these small communities it became apparent quickly that people would know who had taken part. Therefore most people were conscious that there was little that could be done to prevent others from knowing. More concern again was shown over what might have been said.

[57] Many participants commented at the end of the interview that they had forgotten that they still had the microphone on. This could account for why a number of participants did not mention to those that were met that they were being recorded.

In contrast, some participants were keen to articulate their opinions on the landscape and how it is managed and therefore were keen for me to do the research. Though the research was participatory and action research in terms of influencing the approach, there was a need to stress that it was not aiming to find solutions to the problems that participants identified within the case study areas but instead to facilitate potential ways that they may be able to overcome them. This, particularly, emphasized the need for doing feedback events where the space was created for these discussions to occur and did occur in practice, as discussed in section 4.2.4. It also illustrates the importance of managing the expectations of participants within the research and the role of informed consent within that.

These ethical issues indicate the importance of being more reflexive and reflective about how the research was conducted as it helps to contextualise what participants said within the environment in which it was said. Crang & Cook (2007: 30) highlight that ethical consideration and negotiations not only occur within academia but within the 'locales' of the research and must be responded to as they occur. This reflects the participatory ethics that Manzo & Brightbill (2007) are arguing towards that considers ethical questions not only at the beginning of the research, before researchers enter 'the field' but throughout the research process. Pain (2004) comments that negotiating ethics as part of a participatory approach can enable greater critical reflexivity of the whole research process. Though the previous specific method sections have begun to reflect critically on the 'doing' of the methods, the following section takes a more reflexive look at the whole research process.

4.9 Thinking reflexively about the research process

Doucet & Mauthner (2002: 134) argue there is a need for a 'wide and robust concept of reflexivity' in research and that it should include, 'reflecting on, and being accountable about, personal, interpersonal, institutional, pragmatic, emotional, theoretical, epistemological and ontological influences on our research.' Taylor (2013) suggests that researchers are part of the complex relations within case study research and that within her own research she could not conceptualize herself as 'outside' the context she was researching as she was physically within the case study[58]. This challenges traditional understandings of researchers being somehow distant from or independent of the case study and the research being conducted. It similarly contradicts the discussion in the

[58] Here the case study was a classroom of students learning about Japan.

previous section around being perceived as an 'independent' researcher. In contrast to that discussion, however, this section deals specifically with the challenge raised around my own reflections of being independent from the actual research process. This section begins by focussing on my own positionality within the research process identifying the role of being an artist-geographer and how this has informed the research (section 4.9.1). The discussion then becomes more reflexive on the whole research considering the influence I as a researcher had on the research process by giving specific focus to my own emotional responses to situations which occurred (section 4.9.2). This is then concluded by challenging why this more reflexive discussion was included and – I would argue – needed as part of the thesis (section 4.9.3).

4.9.1 Positionality

This project began from a very personal perspective. I have been a landscape painter for many years and have kept up with painting alongside my academic studies in Geography. I have constantly aimed to try and bring the two together as both have provided different ways of engaging and exploring different landscapes, in particular, the landscapes of Scotland. I am originally from Teesside, a very industrial urban area in the north east of England and I have been visiting Scotland since I was a young child on family holidays, most often to the Highlands of Scotland. I have therefore been exposed to the Highlands of Scotland as a tourist for many years. This sparked my artistic imagination in my mid to late teens to try and paint the landscapes of the area and also my interest in how it evolved to be how it is. I was also aware of and interested by the social and cultural history of the area and recollect having very romantic notions and perceptions of the Highlands as being a 'wilderness' area from paintings, folk music, literature and films. For this study I therefore felt that I wanted to challenge my own perceptions of the Highlands, particularly in areas that I had not been to before[59].

I was similarly keen to explore how art could be a means through which to engage with more emotional responses to the landscape. For me landscape painting has always allowed me to express feeling and emotion – both for the landscape that I am painting and other situations or issues I may be dealing with whilst painting. Furthermore due to

[59] I had been to Applecross before on a day trip which is mentioned earlier in this chapter in relation to the painting included that looks across from the peninsula towards the Isle of Skye. At this point, however, I knew very little about either of the case study areas and felt that I would not have past imaginaries of what I believed the places to be like and so would not consciously or subconsciously influence the participants in their own discussions or how this thesis was written.

my awareness of the influence of popular culture, such as television, film and media imagery, on influencing my own perception of the landscape I was keen to explore how others may encounter the use of art. I also felt that through my experience of using art I would be able to help participants technically where and if necessary.

This research has been informed, therefore, by my own practice as an artist as well as my academic training as a geographer. Hawkins (2012; 2011) and Madge (2014) highlight the growing prevalence of practice-based geographical research with the use of more artistic approaches including creative writing, music, painting and theatre. Madge (2014: 473) critiques that geographies of art and practice-led research has the potential for a more 'intersubjective relational way of understanding'. My painting practice seeks to engage with my own experiential encounters with landscape as well as creating an aesthetically well composed landscape. Being a geographer, however, I have always been keen to re-present the landscape form and processes that I am viewing whilst also maintaining an element of impressionism to reflect the experience of being-in-the-landscape. As outlined above in section 4.6.3 issues and politics of representation within artistic practice are raised in how a painting is composed could reflect my own culturally embedded ideas of what a landscape 'should' look like. As Hawkins (2012) argues artistic practice incorporated within geographic research expands the base of inquiry and can often rework the issues and politics associated with representation. In the case of this research this is associated with exploring the process of creating arts-based material to understand greater contextual information of why it is created in the way that it is.

Painting, and art more broadly, for me has the ability to both highlight and challenge potential geographical tensions. It can be at once a static piece, representative of a specific moment when it was created, but has the potential to capture fluidity and movement. Similarly, a painting is inherently spatial and can visualise social and cultural dynamics of a time that is past and yet is viewed in the present of the viewer. Hawkins (2011: 464) identifies that art can thus provide a means through which to engage and 're-vision' core geographical concepts, including landscape and space and, I would argue, time. Furthermore, there is a potential through which engaging with art as a methodological tool emphasises contemporary debates within geography around the role of embodiment, experiences and the non-human world (*ibid.*). Art allows me personally to share with others landscapes visually but also my experiences and

emotions within them. In being an artistic-geographer I wish to explore the potential of art as a way of engaging with others and with ideas that can often be hard to discuss with the spoken word. Art thus has the potential to initiate conversations and discussion to a wider audience. Despite this potential, however, caution should be exercised. The extent of the inclusivity of art can depend on the confidence participants have to engage with art and the creation of arts-based material (see section 4.6.1).

I have therefore had a strong emotional connection to this PhD research as it is one where the ideas have been forming for many years throughout my life. In many respects, this emotional attachment has pushed me through the PhD and made me want to talk to participants about how they experience the landscape. Bondi (2005) recognises an absence of discussion around the emotional impact of research on researchers and in turn the influence this can have on the research process. This section has highlighted the process through which the ideas of the research project occurred across time. To counter this, I would now like to turn to how the doing of the research impacted my own emotions, how I responded to these changing emotions and the influence it had on the research.

4.9.2 Reflecting emotionally on the research process

This project has been very personal and emotional for me both as a researcher and as a person. I have found that emotionally the whole PhD process has been complex and tied up in my own personal journey of exploration of the Highland landscapes, people and histories. In many ways I have become much more critical of my own responses to the landscape, questioning and challenging myself as well as those who have participated, as shown in the extract below which was written in Assynt after a number of weeks of rain:

> ‘It was beautiful waking up to the sunshine this morning. The landscape here – even in the rain – is beautiful, inspiring and probably any other romantic adjective you can think of! […] But what does and why/how does it? What is it that makes me feel, relatively, comfortable here? The landscape? The people? The history? My history? The lifestyle? I don’t know, do I need to know? Do we always need to find the answer to something or should some things just be?’ (Field diary extract, 30/4/2013).

Trying to respond to these questions I found that I was often turning to what my participants had discussed on the walks, trying to see the landscape through their eyes

and embodied experiences as well as my own. I found that these questions did not need to be directly answered but that in asking them about it 'landscape' not only becomes a much more complex and fluid concept but also one bound up in personal emotions[60]. This relates to the work by Wylie (2007) and the dualisms of landscape discussed in the literature review, particularly those of proximity and distance, and sensuous immersion and detached observation. Similarly, Lee & Ingold (2006: 72) suggest that through the rhythm of walking through the landscape the boundaries between the body of the walker and the environment become 'blurred by the movements of both,' and consequently there is a 'co-production of a walking experience between environment and person, both of which are in flux.'

I also became very aware of my presence in both case study areas which gave me a taste of what it was like to try and live in these remote rural locations, albeit for a short period of time and not in the depths of winter, a time of year that participants often described as the 'test' for people who arrived to live in the areas as to whether they would stay there. I purposefully decided to spend a sustained period of time within the two case study areas and to make return visits as through spending a length of time in these places I began myself to become very attached to the places as shown in the following extract from the research diary in Assynt:

> '… I do feel quite comfortable here, there's something about this place, everybody says it … 'it gets under your skin' (Field diary extract, 30/4/2013).

Similarly due to the length of the interviews and seeing some of the participants on a number of occasions (including outside of the interview context) quite often I came away with quite an emotional response to what had taken place as shown in the diary extract below which was written after an interview at the participant's house in Assynt. He was an older man who moved to the area but had family who lived in the area which he visited as a child:

> '… he is the first to have had such a long personal (familial) connection to the area. A couple of times he got emotional remembering the people that are no longer here, just went quiet and a little misty eyed. I was sat on a separate sofa and I felt sad but unsure quite how to respond. In the end I knew I wanted to acknowledge his loss, these people were so much part of

[60] This is discussed in greater detail from the participants' perspective in chapter 6.

> his experience of the area, but I also didn't want to make him dwell in that emotional space if he didn't want to. I felt humbled, I don't think that's the right word, but I came out of that interview unlike I have any other interview, he was a character, both grand and theatrical and yet subtle and quiet, I can't quite put my finger on it …' (Field diary extract, 7/5/2013).

After the interview was completed I left his house and the sun was setting across the sea loch and it was warm with birds calling – bodily and mentally experiencing the epitome of a romantic Highland landscape scene! I was so content after the interview had finished that I decided to sit outside and record what I was hearing, by using a Dictaphone, and seeing, by taking a video of the water and its movements. I sat there for around twenty minutes to half an hour and tried to let my head space empty and to try and feel the landscape through all my body and senses. I felt compelled at this point to return to where I was staying and tell the (Facebook) world of my moment of contentment and inspiration as shown in Figure 4-2. An experience like this, for me, challenged the dualism tensions of (Wylie 2007), in particular, those of proximity and distance. I felt both physically and emotionally 'within' the landscape and yet when I wanted to express this to others it was through taking and showing a picture that was looking out into the distance from where I was sitting but that simultaneously showed the small waves of the tide coming onto the shore. For me proximity and distance came together in influencing my experience of the landscape. This is discussed extensively from the perspective of the participants in the following analysis chapters, in particular chapters 5 and 6.

Widdowfield (2000) and Bondi (2005) highlight the paralysis of emotion that can be felt during the research process, namely in researchers feeling unable to continue with the research, particularly if they feel emotionally ill-equipped to cope. Though there were moments during the field work that I felt convinced that no one would want to talk to me or I considered ethically if it was the right research to be doing in the areas, this moment after the interview was a positive experience. At that moment I realised there are many times that the whole process of doing a PhD (and research generally) does not seem to be working or you cannot see how it will help anyone (let alone yourself). Yet there are also moments of absolute inspiration or even just 'simple' contentment where you realise that you have shared time with other people and they have given you part of themselves. These emotional encounters, as Widdowfield (2000: 205) argues, are 'inevitable and unavoidable' but through writing about these emotions, and writing

Figure 4-2: Image used in a 'Facebook post' after an interview in Assynt. The following comment was attached: 'There are a lot of times when doing a PhD you are filled with self-doubt and wondering why on earth you decided to do a very specific thing for 3 years . ... and then you get a moment and you can't imagine why you ever questioned it ... beautiful sunset after talking to a wonderful gentleman with many a tale to tell ... fantastic! ☺'

about them *explicitly* within the research, they can facilitate greater understanding and help to situate knowledge. For me, however, it is not just how I can express them textually as I have just done, but that my initial reaction was to record this moment visually through a photograph and also recording the sounds. For me, it was in this way that I would be able to then write about it. By returning my eyes to that moment with the photograph and by having the recording of the noises of the water and the birds I could allow myself to return – to a certain extent – to that moment with my ears, even when sitting in an office in the middle of Dundee. What this acknowledgement of emotions and my own positionality within the research process adds to the research will now be discussed.

4.9.3 What does this discussion contribute?

With both the acknowledgement of my own positionality in the development of this PhD research – in particular the influence of art – and the emotional response I had to the research process, I have attempted to illustrate explicitly my role and my influence within the process of doing the research. It could be challenged that this section has been only a cathartic experience for myself, placing my emotions before the reader for them to share with me, that I have privileged my own voice, my own experiences and my own emotions over those of my participants. To an extent this is true, yet the times I spent with participants whether it was walking, being in their boat, sitting outside or sitting indoors, were all experiences which I shared with each of the participants. These experiences would often form part of the issues that participants would discuss. In many of the interviews, particularly the walking interviews but not exclusively so, I came away feeling like I had shared something with the participants. In many ways through talking about the landscape this allowed participants – and often prompted them – to talk about the people they knew or have known, often making certain points along the walk quite emotional. Therefore the methods adopted, particularly, allowed me to explore with the participants how they responded to and experienced the landscapes around them but also their own histories and social connections which were inherently tied up with the landscape.

Through thinking reflexively about my own and participants' reactions to the research, these connections between landscape, people and emotion became much more prominent and influential in engaging with what participants actually discussed. It highlights the potential of placing an emotional lens on the research for influencing our

ways of knowing in ways that allow us to move research beyond its traditional visual, textual and linguistic approaches (Anderson & Smith 2001). Jones (2005: 207, original emphasis) similarly argues that there is a:

> '…movement away from the claim that knowledge is, and should be, an abstract, disembodied, purely rational and objective construct. It recognises the role of emotions in the construction of the world, and in interpretations of the world.'

Through adopting two methods, walking interviews and arts-based methods, the research could critically engage with the dualisms argued by Wylie (2007) and Macdonald (2002) and Macdonald (2008) to create 'tension' around the concept and perceived understandings of landscape. In particular, through the 'more-than-visual' approach of the walking interviews and arts-based methods the body and mind were encouraged to work together rather than against each other – acting to 'restore the eye to the body' (Driver and Martins, 2002, cited in Lorimer & Lund 2008: 197) – and so encourage greater immersion within the landscape.

4.10 Conclusions

This chapter has highlighted how a combination of 'more-than-visual' research methods were adopted in the field and has critically engaged with the process of *doing* the research. It has outlined each of the methods – walking interviews, arts-based methods, key informant interviews and feedback events – and how these methods were used collectively in order to gain a broad perspective from multiple stakeholders around how they encounter the landscapes in which they live, work and/or visit.

Throughout the chapter key ethical issues that arose during the research process have been raised. It has emphasised the need for greater awareness of a more participatory ethics that is needed when conducting participatory research. This is not something that can be completed before the research is undertaken, nor is it covered by the formal process of informed consent. Rather it is something that should be considered throughout the research process, from development through to writing up and potentially beyond that. In particular for this research, it was a tool through which the research was developed and adapted and so in turn more greatly reflects what the participants were identifying as key issues and challenges. Though these ethical issues were challenging, and it could be argued that these issues were never conclusively

resolved, they were fundamental to the research developing and often raised unexpected insights that were not initially considered.

The more reflexive section at the end of this chapter was intended to highlight the role of myself as the researcher within the research. Although I aimed to raise the voices of the participants to the fore within this research, as Bondi (2005) and Widdowfield (2000) have argued it is important to acknowledge the role of the researcher within the research process and the influence that they have within it. Through incorporating reflexivity within the research process – through keeping a research diary – it was possible to also continually review the progress of the research and the methods and how they were working. As such it was possible to be more adaptive to participants and the cultural and social dynamics within the case study areas.

The following chapter takes these discussions around visual and 'more-than-visual' landscapes further by exploring the material landscape and the ways in which participants narrated the landscapes around them. Chapter 6 then focuses on the embodied experiences of landscape before the final two analysis chapters consider the role of a 'more-than-visual' and cultural approach to landscape in informing landscape management.

Walking

First there is wonder:

a river-wrack dance on incoming tide,
two otters twining out to sea,
moss under crushing footsteps,
a raven overhead,
a radiant sedge.

Then there is wondering:
why one rowan toppled in the storm,
upending boulders to survive
all tangled, all-angled complexity,
while the smaller simply
shed another limb.

Sometimes there is insight:
mosses and lichens, liverworts and ferns
will overgrow the wounded wood,
scarred trunks will heal,
the lightened crown will stand;
there is elegance or there is sprawl.

On the way back
it is the same grey day
but everything is different;
even the river
flows the other way.

Poem by a participant, Jo[61], from Assynt.

[61] Anonymised pseudonyms have been used for all arts-based material within the analysis chapters to maintain the anonymity of the participants of the study. All arts-material in this thesis, unless otherwise stated, have been reproduced with permission by those who created them. Please do not reproduce without first seeking permission from the author.

5 Seeing and narrating landscapes: towards a more-than-visual concept

5.1 Introduction

The literature review highlighted the work of Daniels and Cosgrove (1988) who have argued that landscapes have a 'complex interwoven history' with the arts and built environment that have in turn influenced the way that people see the landscape. Their approach to landscape primarily as 'a way of seeing' (Cosgrove 2003; Cosgrove 1985; Daniels & Cosgrove 1988) is one that has enabled a critical assessment of social and cultural history and exploration of culturally embedded values of the landscape. Wylie (2007: 56) states that 'what we see in a work of landscape art often appears to be visually realistic, convincing and in proportion; it often appears to approximate our 'natural' or everyday perception of the world.' Similarly, Ingold (2000) has argued that people have become accustomed to describing their experiences of landscape as though looking at a picture. Wylie (2007: 8) warns there is the potential that landscapes are regarded more as a cultural product or representation than as 'natural or physical phenomena' thus creating a tension between eye and land or, 'subjective perception over objective entity'. It is the aim of this chapter, therefore, to challenge this tension and in turn demonstrate the ways in which participants considered them not to be two distinct, dichotomous understandings of landscape but to be interlinked.

Further to this there are the tensions of proximity/distance and observation/habitation (Wylie 2007) outlined in chapter 2. Along with the distinction made between the 'subjective' eye and 'objective' land, these tensions comment respectively on the positioning of the onlooker at a distance from the landscape and suggesting that the landscape is not something that is physically tactile. Appleton (1996: 22) distinguishes between being 'concerned with the interpretation of the landscape or with our experience of it.' The former is primarily concerned with understanding the physical and biological processes that have resulted in the landscape being shaped and looking as it does. The latter in comparison is focused much more on the observer of the landscape and how they look upon the landscape and attempt to explain their experience of it. Whilst this chapter – and the research overall – is primarily concerned with the experience of the participants as opposed to the physical, ecological processes of the landscapes there is the potential to privilege the observer over the observed and the human over the non-human. Along with Wylie's tensions, therefore, notions of dwelling

will be explored to understand how experience and visual/aesthetics of landscape are interlinked.

Wylie (2007: 1, original emphasis) asks the question 'is landscape the world we are living *in*, or a scene we are looking *at*, from afar?' It is this question that this and the following chapter seek to explore and address. This first chapter will focus on how participants saw and narrated the landscapes within the two case study areas with chapter 6 focussing more on an embodied and 'inhabited' approach to landscape. Together the chapters will address the first research objective outlined in chapter 1:

> *To examine how people experience the landscape and how this influences the relationship people have with the landscape through using 'more-than-visual' methods.*

This chapter will explore 'landscape' from a 'more-than-visual' approach whereby the visual is not excluded but rather embedded as one of multiple ways in which the landscape is experienced. It will explore participants' narratives of how they experienced landscapes and how they often incorporated many aspects of the 'tensions' outlined by Wylie (2007), Macdonald (2002) and Macdonald (2008). Participants narrated the landscape in three distinct ways; the material landscape (section 5.3), scale (section 5.4) and change and time (section 5.5). The chapter concludes by drawing out the key themes from the chapter in section 5.6. First, however, the chapter begins by highlighting the challenge raised by some participants around what I meant by 'landscape' and how they began to unpack the term.

5.2 'Is this landscape?'

The picture on the following page (Figure 5-1) was taken by Aidan, a visitor to Assynt, on a walk that we did together as part of the research. Included is a quotation where Aidan describes taking the picture. In many ways it typifies a 'traditional' landscape view or scene with depth and perspective to the form of the landscape and the viewer looks upon the landscape from a particular 'vantage point' where the photograph was taken (Cosgrove 2003: 254; Cosgrove 1985). Aidan talks about how the way of taking the photograph skews the image of the landscape when it is reproduced but that it still serves as a reminder of the landscape that he can look at later. Earlier in the walk, however, Aidan had questioned what I meant when I spoke about 'landscape' in relation to the research:

Aidan: […] see there's those cliff rocks, you can see them slightly differently from here. (starts to take a picture) See how much I can get in, I might have to do the whole thing, panorama … it does skew the picture a little bit but it's, oh, oh, oh, I always get it wrong! Bloody hard to keep your hand level for all that time! I think I need to get a tripod that you can put it on! (shows the image to me) So it skews the picture a bit, if you wanted to see it properly you would print it out and put it round like that and then it would look right. But yeah that's quite nice, a little reminder.

Figure 5-1: Panoramic photograph at Loch Gleann Dubh (see Figure 1-5) taken by Aidan using his phone and quotation taken from the interview where he describes taking it.

> **Aidan:** […] when you say landscapes are you talking about what I immediately see around me now or the greater picture of everything around the whole of the north-west Scotland, kind of thing? What would you say?
>
> **Amy:** Well I suppose […] I would maybe ask you what do you think when I or you were to say 'landscape'? Is it what is immediately around you or do you put it into context?
>
> **Aidan:** I must confess I think I'm a very immediate person and what's immediately around me is what, is what concerns me at the time err, so yeah. So this is a landscape (indicating where we're walking), that's a different landscape (looking across the loch) erm, I guess, err.
>
> **Amy:** So are landscapes at a different scale or experienced in multiple ways?
>
> **Aidan:** Yeah because it's very rare that we walk as part of the landscape so over there, it's a bit rough and uneven whereas this (unclear) that experience is going to make up other, the whole of it is, is seen, makes up the whole experience itself, erm, but isn't that beautiful (sighs) it's just lovely.

For Aidan, the landscape is something that he sees visually but when he is out walking in the landscape he is also experiencing it around him. Landscape is therefore something that he observes from a distance but simultaneously sees and experiences more closely. Furthermore it is something that he reacts to emotionally through commenting not just that it is composed of rocks or water for example but that it is 'beautiful' and 'lovely', further emphasising a more subjective, emotional observation of the landscape. This illustrates not just the tension of proximity and distance, but that for Aidan the landscape is seen as both proximate and distant when he is within the landscape.

A question around scale of landscape was also raised as highlighted in the quotation below from Jenny, a visitor to Assynt (some contextual information about the landscape we were walking in has been provided in italics):

> *[The walk was conducted within a managed woodland area of Assynt. Within the wood there are a number of different pathways, play areas for children, viewpoints and information boards. It is located by the harbour and close to the major settlement of Lochinver.]*
>
> 'Yes, 'cos I wondered if this would be the sort of place you would be interested in discussing because I mean that (looking over the loch to the

> opposite side we are standing) is a landscape without the trees and the hills is what I would automatically think of landscape, isn't it really, but I suppose then you dig down a bit and then it's the land to start off with and I guess this is land with trees and it's just different, well I assume, I haven't thought about that in those terms until I knew I was doing this, it's quite an education really!' (Jenny, visitor, Assynt).

Throughout all of the interviews with participants, though they would talk about the larger scale scenes that they were observing, being outside on a walk brought the immediate environment into focus too. There was therefore an interconnection between the two environments which resulted in some participants challenging what I and they meant when talking about landscape. Such questioning of what 'landscape' means highlights that when challenged to think about the landscape, participants, either consciously or subconsciously, understood them at different scales. This therefore challenges the understanding of landscapes as being something distant and that are observed from afar. Similarly, the following quotation from the interview with Kay (local resident, Assynt) who questions whether what makes up a landscape is 'landscape' in and of itself:

> *[This part of the interview was conducted in Kay's home where she was showing me photographs of the Assynt landscape that she has taken; here she has stopped at a photograph of a pebble beach in the foreground.]*
>
> 'I mean things like this, is this landscape? I mean it's just pebbles on the shore, and it's just the most amazing colours you know, when the water is on them and then the, you get the shadow of the ripples, it's lovely […] I suppose it is landscape in a sort of way, it's all part of the landscape…'

All of these participants firstly asked whether I believed something to be a 'landscape' and then described it to me. When the question was turned back to them there was first, a slight uncertainty in suggesting that what they had mentioned was actually 'landscape' followed by a more affirmative reason as to it forming a larger whole.

A further challenge that participants raised was in relation to whether 'landscape' was the material landscape or something that people had made, as the following excerpt from an interview with Julie, a local resident, and Hazel, a visitor, to Applecross highlights:

> **Amy:** […] I'm quite intrigued by the question you asked, do you think the landscape can just exist on its own?
>
> **Hazel:** I was thinking about that and I really doubt it, I mean what would happen if you just leave it, it, I would think that.
>
> **Julie:** The very word landscape, are we talking about the geology and the nature as in the botanic, botanical elements or are we talking about a created environment from people where they live?
>
> **Hazel:** Yeah, because I think that we made it.
>
> **Julie:** I think we've made it as it is.
>
> **Hazel:** Yeah our presence sort of over the years have [sic] made it, yeah, made it dependent on us being here I think…

This excerpt, in particular, questions the role of people within and in shaping the landscape. For both Hazel and Julie people are active agents within the landscape, however, Julie does distinguish between a 'botanical landscape' and one that has been shaped and made by people. Consequently there is a distinction being made between people and 'nature', touching on the fourth tension raised by Wylie (2007) of nature/culture. This will be a recurring theme throughout the analysis chapters, and will be discussed specifically in section 5.5 in relation to the visual landscape and in chapter 7 in relation to landscape management.

The above questioning by participants of what 'landscape' is reflects the landscape tensions outlined in chapter 2 by Wylie (2007), Macdonald (2002) and Macdonald (2008). Participants directly questioned and challenged their own thinking of what is meant by the term 'landscape', often with little prompting. These quotations demonstrate that landscape remains a highly visual concept for many people but is also highly complex. Yet, as the following sections will demonstrate, these are not necessarily tensions but make up different aspects of landscapes which are simultaneously seen and experienced in other ways.

5.3 'I spend a lot of my time just looking': visualising the material landscape

Many of the participants described how they spent much of their time 'just looking' at the landscapes around them. Indeed, at some point during all of the interviews, participants would turn to point out a particular aspect of the landscape that we were

seeing or would specifically consider how they observe the landscape, as indicated in the following quotation:

> ‘I’m a person observing and like I think I said to you the other day I sit here and my eyes, my eyes are never still, I never just sort of look like that, I’m always sort of following the curves and the, I suppose imagining walking it and thinking oh that would be easy to do, but it isn’t over there, I found that out, but erm, and then […] my eyes sort of rove around the whole landscape’ (Beverley, visitor, Assynt).

Beverley’s interview took place indoors but in a room that had large windows looking out across a bay to hills on the opposite side. Due to health reasons, which Beverley briefly discussed, she was unable to move around quite as easily as she once had and found that she now used her eyes ‘to go for walks’ where her body was not now able to go. For her, landscape was primarily visual. She emphasised what she could see from a distance but then imagined in her head what the experience within it would be like.

This section will consider the material landscape and how participants described what they saw. This is not to create a false dichotomy between the physical and perceived landscape but instead to emphasise how participants viewed landscapes (or at least how they articulated the experience of looking at landscapes) and whether their experiences challenged the more cultural representations of landscapes, such as those outlined in chapter 2 in relation to the more nostalgic and iconic views of landscape (Cosgrove 1984; Cosgrove 1985; Daniels & Cosgrove 1988; MacDonald 2002; MacDonald 1998; Pringle 1988; Soden 2008). Furthermore, many of these visual narratives are embedded within ‘more-than-visual’ and subjective perceptions which will be discussed in chapter 6. This section, therefore, focusses specifically on the ways in which landscapes were observed and described by the participants, including descriptions of how the landscapes are composed and their variety (section 5.3.1), the appearance of the landscape in relation to light, colour and layers (section 5.3.2), the importance of the sea and how that influences how people understand landscape (section 5.3.3) and finally moving towards ‘more-than-visual’ and emotional reactions to landscapes (section 5.3.4).

5.3.1 ‘I just think you’ve got everything here’: landscapes of variety

> ‘I just think you’ve got everything here you’ve got the sea, you’ve got the land, you’ve got mountains, you’ve got the open sea and you know all that

> sky which is very much part of the landscape too and that's always changing,' (Natalie, local resident, Applecross).

Many participants emphasised the variety within landscapes and the variety of landscapes within both case study areas as something that made them appreciate them. Variety was often referred to as the combination of elements, in particular the mountains and sea, that made people appreciate the landscapes of Applecross and Assynt, more as shown in the following quotation:

> 'I love the combination of sea and mountains, erm, my partner loves the sea and we couldn't retire anywhere that wasn't by the sea and I couldn't live without the mountains so it's the combination which is wonderful,' (Vicky, local resident, Assynt).

For Vicky it meant that Assynt was somewhere that she and her partner had both wanted to retire to as it had aspects that both of them required from a place where they were living. Both participants picked out the material components (sea, mountains) that make up the landscape as a whole. In both case study areas landscapes were, therefore, understood by many of the participants not as homogenous entities but as being composed of different elements, such as mountains, the sea and, as highlighted by Natalie, the sky. Both participants discussed elements of the landscape that they could look at and go to.

In contrast other participants also spoke about variety but within one landscape:

> **Malcolm:** And we're back into the forest which is nice, it's just so pretty. So there is some variety on the walk, it's not all straight walking mundane road.
>
> **Amy:** Do you prefer to have some variety on a walk?
>
> **Malcolm:** Oh yes, that's why the river Inver loop is amazing, erm, because first of all you start walking through erm, along the road, well some wood, domestic wood if you like and it opens out into the erm, sort of boggy moorland and gorse going on and then you come across the loch and it's really nice to walk up there and have a look at that and it goes up a steep heavily wooded thing like this and it opens up into the erm, when you get to the top there's more boggy, peaty stuff there and then into the actual woods of the river which are very beautiful.

Malcolm discussed another walk that he had done a number of times before on visits to Assynt known as the 'Inver Loop' (see Figure 1-2). This walk he describes as 'amazing' because of the variety of different landscapes that are walked through. Malcolm contrasts this with a section of the walk that we were on where we walked along a track which he had described as being 'boring' due to a lack of variety of different vegetation and habitats. Interest within landscape was often associated with what is within it and experienced more intimately and proximately around participants. Once again this highlights that landscapes are not only looked out at or something that is more distant. The variety of vegetation, geomorphological features and/or wildlife within landscapes can affect the way that landscapes are experienced at multiple scales[62]. The aesthetics of landscape can thus inform how they are subsequently valued by people, here, variety is considered to be more visually appealing. Chapter 3 outlined the importance placed on the aesthetics of landscape within past and current landscape management practices, such as the National Scenic Areas (Selman & Swanwick 2010). What Malcolm describes above, highlights, how the visual is part of his overall experience of the landscape and particular preferences he has for certain landscapes and not an 'objective' sense to look onto the land (Ingold 2006; Wylie 2007; 2005).

Some participants spoke of the distinctiveness that variety brought to the landscape as highlighted in the following interview excerpt with Elizabeth and Stephanie, visitors to Applecross:

> **Elizabeth:** […] It's distinct, it's very different the landscape here erm, I mean even, it's just, I don't know whether it's the remoteness of it or the fact you've got the Bealach[63] to get to, you know what we were talking about earlier on, I mean it's different from Loch Lomond or Fort William, it's unique, you know, it has its own landscape … I think because it's got the hills, the mountains and the sea, you know, just, and the river, it's got so many different types of landscape in a small area, it just makes it so distinct, unique.
>
> **Stephanie:** And then the people are very friendly, it's not like that in Glasgow, people don't say hello to you every day.

[62] The experiences of landscape at different scales are discussed further in section 5.4.

[63] The Bealach na Bà is the high road pass in the south of the peninsula Figure 1-4.

For Elizabeth it is the variety of landscape 'types' that she argues makes Applecross 'distinct'. It is not just the landscape itself, however, but the journey that must be taken to get there which adds to the appreciation she has for the landscapes of Applecross, referring to the 'remoteness' and driving over the mountain pass of the Bealach. Stephanie also adds the people of Applecross, describing them as being friendly, suggesting that for Stephanie, when asked about the landscapes that both the landscape in and of itself and also the people who live there are parts of it.

In slight contrast, participants who worked with the landscape tended to describe in particular the variety of habitats and ecology as significant:

> '[…]landscape to me is, it's very important, you know it's, difficult to describe really, it's erm, the landscape mix in Applecross where you've got the improved grassland, err, you've got native woodlands burns and streams, you've got mountain, mountain habitats, err, heathland habitats, you've got a range of things there which erm, you have rock and boulder habitat, which make it quite distinct collectively, you know all these things together make it really quite distinct,' (Stuart, key informant, local organisation).

Stuart went on further, stressing in particular that it was for him the physical landscape itself that contributed to its uniqueness and his appreciation of it:

> 'I would say the landscape to me is the physical landscape, the uniqueness of the physical landscape, the mixtures of the individual habitat types put together erm, plus the aesthetics of that and then the cultural heritage which is pretty much defined by its isolation.'

Similar to Stephanie, however, Stuart also identified the role of people within the landscape by referencing the 'cultural heritage'. Stuart suggested that it was the physical landscape that had contributed to the development of the culture within the area to be as it is. This echoes Elizabeth who refers to the journey to get to Applecross and going over the Bealach in order to reach the interior of the peninsula. Returning to someone else who worked with the land, their appreciation of landscape was again from the variety of habitats and biodiversity:

> 'The more varied it is the better I think and I, and that's why, I think a natural ecology of a place and I like to use the term ecology it is, is a varied thing and when you get a real monoculture of heather or monoculture of

> grass or trees even and that's, that's fairly unnatural really because the underlying geology's going to be wet bits, especially up here when the geology's so undulating but there's wet bits, there's dry bits and erm, we would never of had continuous forests or trees erm, and when you see a uniform landscape it's usually because we've done something it […] over-grazing does that, burning does that, it, it just, favours one particular species, you know. So it's that variety has the, the most biodiversity and it's more attractive you know,' (Graham, key informant, local organisation).

Graham then went on to describe the landscapes of the walk that we did together in a similar way:

> 'I know it's an old woodland and being a wildlife person I like, I like a nice variety of different habitats and this, this is a fairly short walk but you've got all the variety, we've come through heather and the gorse and then you've got the water's edge, you've got the trees, you've got mountains and you're likely to see all sorts of wildlife and things […] I'll just walk here in the lunchtime sometimes, walk the dogs and I might spot a dragon fly, there's a, green tiger beetle just showing off there. And erm, you know, you don't know what you're going to find.'

For Graham along with gaining enjoyment from seeing different habitats there is also an element of anticipation and excitement in not knowing what he might encounter. Despite Graham and Stuart being people who work directly with(in) these landscapes and where, arguably, a more 'objective' scientific narratives would be expected, there is a distinct element of proximity and immersion within their accounts of landscape. The concept of 'dwelling' (Ingold 2000) here becomes useful as there is an 'ongoing togetherness' (Cloke & Jones 2001: 651) between the participants and the landscape. They have become more than just 'onlookers' and the landscape, more than something to be gazed upon, but something to be understood and experienced.

This section has highlighted the value placed on the variety within visual experiences of landscape. The 'visual' is not something that is objective but highly subjective and immersed within an emotional response to the way a landscape appears, such as Vicky who describes her 'love' for the landscape. The visual is therefore a 'more-than-visual' experience. The following section takes this further and focuses more on how participants described the appearance of the landscape in order to understand how the appearance of landscapes can influence 'more-than-visual' experiences.

5.3.2 Describing appearances: light, colours and layers

> '…but the bay was just unspeakably beautiful every kind of greens, I mean greens, blues, purples reds and all to do with the coming sunset,' (Richard, local resident, Assynt).

Adding to participants' discussions of what features made up the landscape were descriptions of how they looked, particularly in relation to colour and the effect of light, such as in the quotation above. Thus the visual was clearly a key element of participants overall experience of landscape. Light was often described in relation to the effect of the sun on the landscape creating different landscapes by emphasising certain colours at different times of the day and time of the year and so stretching the landscape beyond the land itself to also include the sky. The following quotation illustrates this further:

> 'The light and the colour, I mean it changes all the time, you know, if you look, follow the back island, follow that along, and it dips sort of there, almost about one o'clock to where we're standing, and you can see that little peak above it, which is nothing, you wouldn't notice it but at certain times, late afternoon, early evening, depending on the time of year, that can just stand out as if it's a spotlight on it, it's really, really obvious […] The light just makes such a difference,' (Melanie, local resident, Assynt).

Melanie describes the light as acting like a spotlight on the landscape, highlighting particular features that may otherwise be unnoticed. Light and colour, therefore, add a certain sense of mobility and temporality to the landscape. Landscapes are not, therefore, necessarily static entities but rather change and evolve (Wylie 2007). Furthermore Ingold (2000: 264, original emphasis) has argued that 'light is the *experience* of inhabiting the world of the visible,' and the variations that it has – and in the case of this research, the effects it creates (with)in the landscape – will likewise alter the experience that a person may have:

> 'I would say that this time of year is actually about the most boring time for colours 'cos everything is so green and really September, October when the bracken begins to turn and you get this sort of golden sort of burnt colours of the bracken and the heather and the birch trees when they've lost their leaves they, they almost look red and so the winter colours can be absolutely stunning I think. And I suppose it's more variation – same as Spring when there's just things are starting to sprout erm – that there's more variation which at the moment everything is green but I mean the heather is coming out now and it's really bright … And I mean when you look at the sky you

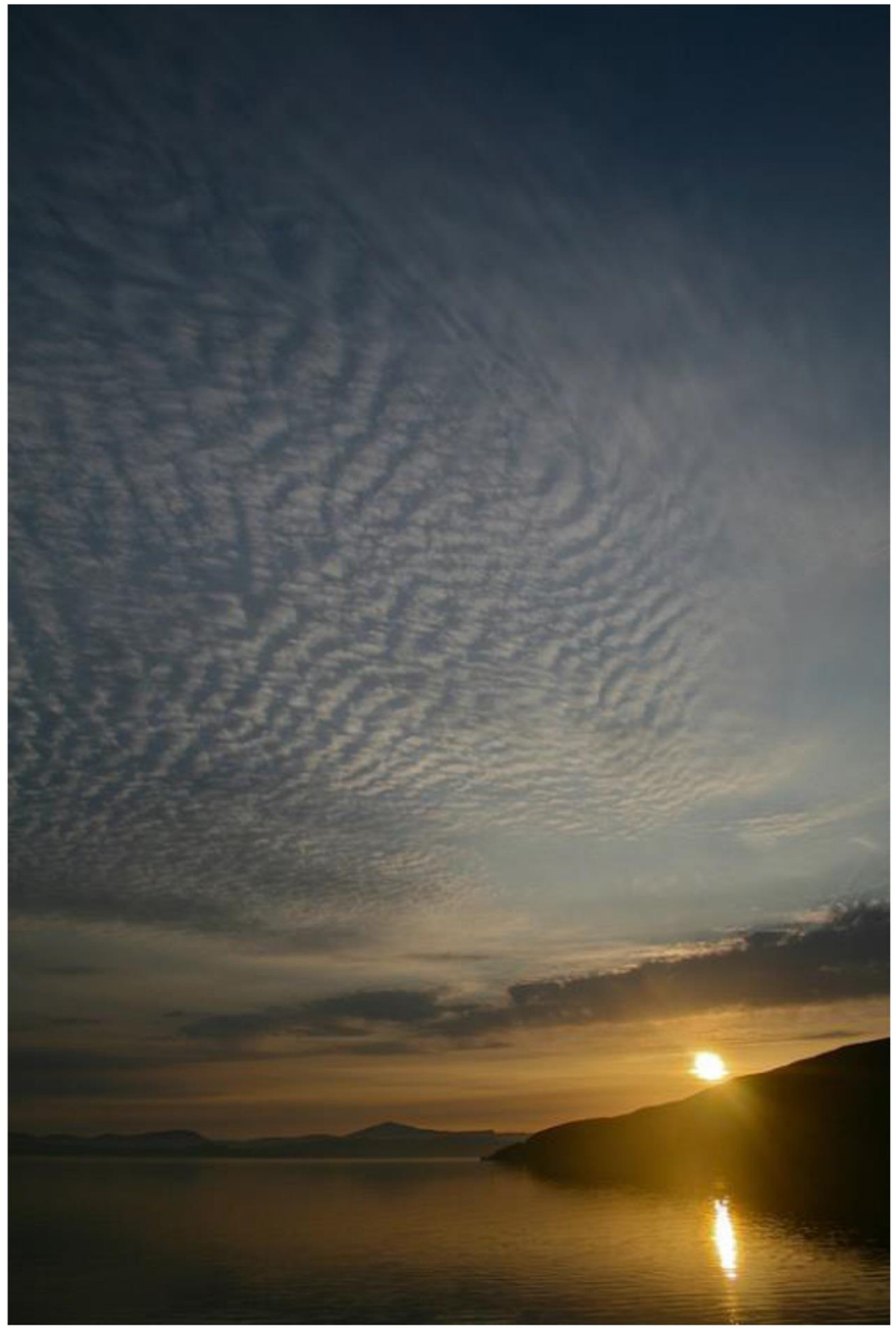
> see sort of patches of blue sky, bright white clouds and really black clouds coming over so err, got constant contrasts and just the light as well I mean it's, it looks pretty brooding and horrible over there,' (Casandra, local resident, Applecross).

Casandra's description of colour within the landscape initially describes the change of colour that occurs due to the different seasons[64], however, she also refers to the time of year that the walk took place (in summer) as being 'boring' or that the light on the distant rain clouds as 'brooding' and 'horrible'. Such narratives suggest a more 'relational spacing' between the landscape and self (Lorimer 2007; Wylie 2005) whereby, 'walker and terrain melt into a range of faculties and feelings, emerging amid elemental phenomena, happening there, then, singularly in those circumstances' (Lorimer 2007: 90). To illustrate this visually, Figure 5-2 shows photographs sent by a participant that he argued demonstrated the 'beauty of Applecross'. They particularly emphasise the role of these factors on the appearance of the landscape. All the images show a certain perspective of the landscape, primarily looking out into the distance from a vantage point, creating a 'layering effect' within the landscape. This is reflected on in the following quotation from another participant:

> '[…] a lot of the landscapes I mean, maybe not seeing it so much today because the clouds down but you do get this sort of layered effect I mean, you know, sort of the mountains getting fainter and fainter as you go away … And, and I sometimes just, looking back into the, you know Torridon mountains it's just amazing just seeing them getting sort of progressively lighter layer upon layer. Even that, that huge rocky outcrop there Diabaig, you know it's the same sort of effect with the sunshine on Diabaig' (Connie, local resident, Applecross).

Such narratives of perspective within landscape echo Cosgrove's (1985) writing around perspective, depth, folds and landscape as a 'way of seeing'. Cosgrove argues this perspective 'gives the eye absolute mastery over space' (*ibid.*, p.48). As such the landscape is considered as something distant that is observed by an individual located outside the space. Yet when Connie's quotation and the photographs by James are considered in relation to the quotation by James in Figure 5-2, it becomes clear how the effects that light can have within the landscape can create lasting moments remembered as a memory that people can associate with landscapes, making them personal and lived

[64] This is explored further in section 5.5.



‘I suppose you’re just, I don’t know, just aware erm, and if something catches your eye you know, you immediately just zero in on it or whatever you know it’s, I don’t know, it was last Saturday, it was something I’ve never seen before erm, there was a rainbow just up at Rona and I was out there and I was, it was a Saturday, I think it was Saturday, no it was actually Tuesday and err, I couldn’t be bothered coming out, I was tired, knackered, fed up and there was lots of berry prawns* coming up going straight back over the side and I just looked up and I was really, really flat and it was just the height of Rona island there, only just higher and it was just flat and I’ve never seen that before in my life and you just think, ‘yeah, that’ll do’, you know, so it’s the little things, yeah.’

Figure 5-2: Photographs taken by James, a local resident of Applecross. These are two of a group of photographs that he described as showing the 'beauty of Applecross'. Top left is titled, 'Above Milton Loch' and the right hand side, 'Pre-sunset on the bay'. Included is also a quotation from the interview with James where he recollects seeing a ‘flat rainbow’ whilst out on his boat.*Berry prawns are female prawns that are coming up in the creels covered in roe.

landscapes, not necessarily distant or merely observed from afar (Jones 2011a; 2005). These kind of personal connections that individuals have with landscapes highlight the interconnectedness between identity and landscape suggesting they are always relationally in becoming and reforming as past and present experiences intertwine (Jones & Garde-Hansen 2012).

The narratives here have been dominated by landscape and also the interplay between the land and the sky. What was particularly emphasised in relation to the variety of the landscape, however, was the role of the sea which, despite being part of the discussions so far, has not been considered directly as many of the participants did. This, in part, reflects the nature of the landscapes within the two case study areas being located on the coast. Yet it also broadens the focus of the concept and encourages a more holistic view of 'landscape' to include different elements of sky (air) and sea (water). The following section, therefore, focuses in more detail on the role of the sea and coast as part of the landscape and the influence the sea had on the 'more-than-visual' experiences described by the participants.

5.3.3 Landscape, seascape or coastalscape: what is the '*land*scape'?

Both case study areas are located along the west coast of Scotland, this raised an interesting challenge for research on *land*scape in that much of the landscape was dominated by the sea or sea lochs. The previous section has already demonstrated that the participants considered the sea as being an integral part to the landscapes of the area. The following quotation illustrates the importance of the sea on the experience of the landscape for one participant:

> 'I'm sure there are experts out there that could explain wave patterns and all that sort of thing, but for me it's just a source of wonder and beauty and the fact that it's changing is what makes it, which means I can sit out here, oh look see these patterns that are evolving, why are the waves not going through that bit? And you know, it's because it changes all the time or I'm sure it's partly an attraction for me, why I can sit out here for hours, just, I never get bored, I never get bored looking at that, that seascape, that landscape and you're right we tend to call it a landscape and it's a bit cumbersome to call it a land-seascape but maybe we should call it a seascape more at this scale, when the water's as dominant as the surrounding landscape and just call it a seascape,' (Paul, local resident, Applecross).

Paul was actively seeking for a greater acknowledgement of the sea within discussions of the landscape. The extent of the visual dominance of the sea for participants was sometimes more indirect as in the following:

> 'But when you come down off the top of the Bealach and you just start heading down into the village of Applecross and you see the shoreline and the sea and then those islands (looks across the water) it's just you just know you've arrived, it's just lovely,' (David, visitor, Applecross).

The quotation above from David suggests that once people travelling to Applecross came across the high road pass – the Bealach – and saw the shoreline and the sea they 'know' they have arrived. In this particular case, then, it is not a particular 'landscape' of Applecross that they visually connect with first but a more distant seascape. The following quotations from Christopher highlights how the sea was a draw for the walk that he chose to go on for the research:

> 'It's the sea and it's not just the one [landscape], it's not just the moorland, we've got the sea we've got the coastline as well and that's important. That was one of the things that made me pick the walk because didn't fancy going up a big hill or, again, it wasn't particularly, it wasn't necessarily a well-marked track around a big hill or a mountain so the next best thing was to come out here and walk along the coast instead,' (Christopher, visitor, Assynt).

After being asked about what it was about the sea that drew him, he went on to talk about the scale of the sea within the landscape and the influence this had on his thoughts about the relationship between himself and the environment:

> '… Hmm … Sea, I like, hmm, it's the expanse I think in some ways, I don't know it's, hmm, I don't know that's a big question, what is it about the sea? … One thing is I've always liked the sea, I guess. Erm, when we were younger we always used to go to the seaside or we always used to, you know go out and err, go to the coast for the day, erm, so I've kind of been brought up with it in that sense and I quite like, yeah the scale, the scale's the right word I think, it kind of, I always say this, erm, it puts you in your place in the sense that if there's stuff on your mind or you know if you're het up about work or whatever it might be then somehow feel you're pretty insignificant compared to that big expanse, so I quite like that but I also like the noise erm, that kind of constant low rumble of the waves crashing and that's something that's quite … yeah something quite powerful about that, I

> think. Plus you can look out for miles and miles and miles you know, you can see, see right on to the horizon. That's presumably, what is that, probably beyond the northern tip of Ireland now aren't we? So you've got the Outer Hebrides and there's nothing in between the Outer Hebrides for a very long time so, yeah.'

Christopher, though finding it difficult to articulate, demonstrates a more emotional attachment to the sea, reflecting on growing up and his memories of that. He then moves on to discuss how he feels 'put in his place' by the sea. It therefore acts as a means through which he can gain perspective on his own life in relation to the expanse of sea that appears to go on for miles and is likely to remain like that for a long time. The visual distance and horizon in the landscape therefore allow for him to react more internally. Another participant, Susan also reflected on the emotional benefits she gained from the coastal landscape of Applecross:

> 'Yeah, well, I think I really like erm looking at the Cuillins[65], and erm I always think the Cuillins actually look much better from here than they do if you were on Skye and trying to drive through them. And then erm (gets up) the volcano, like looking over to Raasay with the vol', the old volcano, it's really nice and erm as well over there you get really beautiful sunsets that's erm, just again like at the end of Raasay over to Rona, so it's a really lovely place to come and watch the sunset. And erm yeah I think for me it's kind of always really peaceful beach and erm, yeah ok today it's a really still day, it's very calm, very tranquil today and then other days you get the wind and the sea and the waves and erm it's sort of erm just different. And I really like sort of looking over towards Ard Bain and the houses there. And erm, so I think for me then this beach is really about just the peace and the beauty of Applecross,' (Susan, visitor, Applecross).

I then went on to ask Susan what it was about the sea for her that she seemed to find appealing:

> 'I don't know really why I like the sea. I also really quite like that combination of having mountains and the landscape in the sea so rather than just, if it was just looking at you know, if you're looking at like the English Channel or something, although it's still nice being near the sea, I think just looking out to sea isn't as special as when you erm look across here and you've got the islands and things as well as the sea.'

[65] The Cuillins are a mountain range on the Isle of Skye that dominates the skyline from the south of the peninsula and along the coastline before it bends inland.

Once again Susan comments on the variety within the landscape, rather than it just being the same kind of landscape. For both Christopher and Susan the visual qualities of the coastal/sea-scape though creating distance allowed them to become more sensuously immersed within it rather than creating distance[66].

These sections have demonstrated the highly visual response of participants to the landscape. Yet at the same time they have simultaneously affirmed and challenged the 'landscape' gaze of Cosgrove (2003; 1985) and Daniels & Cosgrove (1988). The predominantly visual narratives are littered with emotional adjectives, such as 'loving' the place, that it is 'special' or 'lovely'. Such ways of narrating the landscape also suggest the relationship that people have with these landscapes, and that people's perceptions of them go beyond just the materiality of the landscape. The following section begins to look at this more emotional and 'more-than-visual' way of narrating the landscape.

5.3.4 Openness, freedom and space: more-than-visual and emotional narratives of the material landscape

> 'But it is fantastic, you know the, the sea, okay it's a sort of fairly inland loch but you got the sea and the mountains and the trees and you know it's a pretty special place really …' (Philippa, local resident, Applecross).

On the walks many participants would describe the landscape as shown in the quotation above from Philippa. These were often descriptive and visual comments yet within these are embedded deeper, more emotional attachments to the landscape, such as describing it as a 'pretty special place really' or as seen in the following:

> '[…] the landscape is just stunning and all of here … from a seventeen mile err, drive from here to there, the landscape completely changes. You know here is more woody and a bit more tree-y and different sort of rocks and down there is just barren with the islands off to sea and just totally different feeling but still just as beautiful and I just absolutely love it,' (Heather, local resident, Assynt).

Both quotations typify many of the narratives that the participants gave when describing the landscape. They moved beyond describing the landscape itself to attaching an emotional response to it. What this section aims to demonstrate is that these emotional

[66] This discussion is taken further in the following chapter in relation to embodied experiences of the landscape.

attachments could alter how a landscape was observed and perceived as they came to entangle not only the material landscape but the past, present and future of those who were looking at them.

The following photograph (Figure 5-3), provided by Amber and Jeffrey, visitors to Applecross, illustrates the more 'romantic' narratives of the landscape that some participants had. They annotated the photograph as being 'peaceful but dramatic', the calm water in the foreground reflects the 'peaceful' aspect of the landscape, whereas the mountains that are in the distance add drama to the landscape. They went on to describe the landscape as follows (emphasis in original):

> **Amber:** It's also the, the big, wide vista of a place as opposed to, going back to Glencoe only because it's very, you know Glencoe?
>
> **Amy:** Mmm.
>
> **Amber:** It's very, very hemmed in and
>
> **Jeffrey:** Dramatic.
>
> **Amber:** Wet! Most of the time. Erm but it's you know it's you know it's not as free and liberating as a feeling if you were sitting in the middle of Glencoe, it would be lovely from some areas, but when you look at this, it's just you can see so much, it's so open.

It was also the 'openness' of the landscape that for Amber, in particular, made it more appealing than a landscape such as Glencoe which is a narrow glen in comparison. Amber also compares Glencoe with being wet rather than 'dramatic' as Jeffrey does. The space and openness of the Applecross landscape was one that many participants, in particular the visitors, associated with a sense of freedom and allowing them to create a sense of distance not (necessarily) from the landscape but from their 'other' lives:

> '[…] it's sort of a bit, sanctuary. And I think, I suppose just that peace, you know it's always something when you go to Inverness for the day and it's always like, it's just always so nice when you get back here and you see, when you come back down over the pass and then you start seeing Applecross Bay,' (Grace, visitor, Applecross).

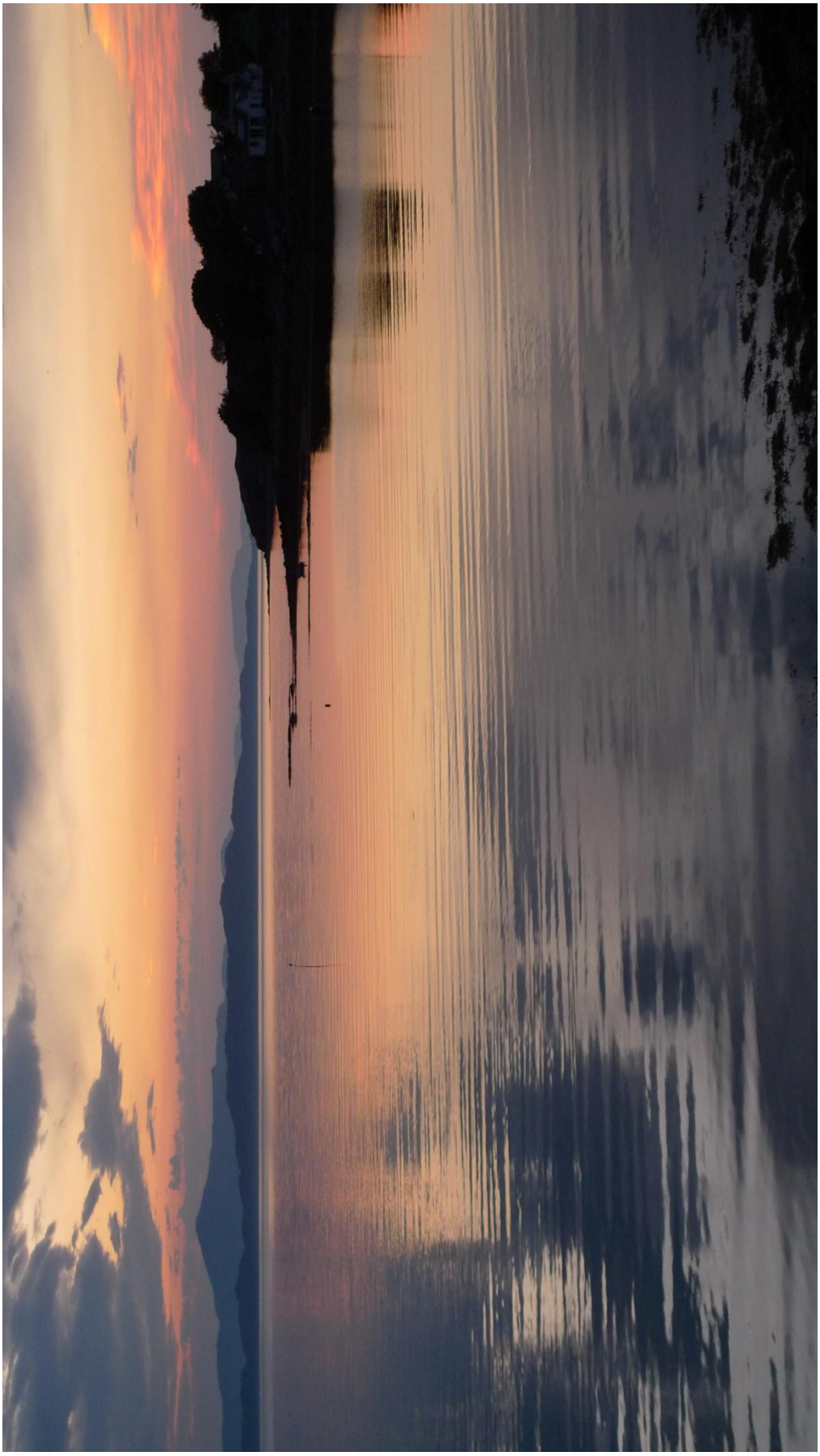


Figure 5-3: 'Peaceful but dramatic' was how Amber and Jeffrey described the landscapes of Applecross who believed this photograph demonstrated these qualities.

There is a therapeutic experience that visiting participants associated with the visual landscape, with Grace referring to it specifically as a 'sanctuary' for her. The role of therapeutic landscapes will be explored further in chapter 6 in relation to more emotional and embodied experiences of landscape.

Participants would also state how the landscape was a place that fed their imagination, as seen in the following quotation:

> '… and also you can, these little birches, I was walking up towards the falls erm, and it was that time of year where most of the leaves were sort of dropping and it was just a few tiny birch leaves on these and you know that, what is it called those erm, fibre-optic lights with the little light at the tips, to me that brought that, I thought they looked like fibre-optic things, you know that's what I can, that's what the landscape does to me I can imagine all sorts. I can imagine all sorts of stuff, it sort of feeds your imagination doesn't it. I mean I'm sitting here and I'm not looking at you I'm looking out over there, I can't help it! Once it's there it's like the television, only it's better …' (Nicola, visitor Assynt).

Nicola describes an almost 'otherworldly' landscape that captures – and holds – her imagination and attention. Gemma, a visitor to Applecross, similarly comments on how the landscapes look like a 'mystical land', 'unreal':

> 'Looking at those islands. Well like this morning, we were sitting there at the barn and they were really clear but whenever I look at them they just don't look real they're too beautiful, they look like a drawing in a fairy tale book, it's like it's a mystical land and, you know that's what I think is Applecross, it's very special beauty is, is almost unreal and on a sunny day it's just wow,' (Gemma, visitor, Applecross).

These narratives still maintain the visual and aesthetic undertones as described previously, yet they also suggest a more imagined and emotional response to the landscape. In particular, they heighten the individuality of the participants describing the landscape. This suggests that participants bring their own histories, memories and imaginations to how they observe and see the landscape as previously identified in section 5.5.3.

These four sections have begun to highlight the diverse ways in which the participants visualised the landscapes of Applecross and Assynt, showing the on-going importance of the visual, but also the complexities of such practices of viewing. They demonstrate

that though landscapes are observed by participants this is influenced by their ongoing presence and togetherness within the landscape (Cloke and Jones 2001). Observation is therefore not objective but part of a broader embodied, sensory and immersive experience within the landscape. The following section begins to focus more on this and how participants spoke about the different scales of the landscape. In doing so the tension between proximity and distance is both explored and challenged through narratives of large scale and often distant landscapes to the small-scale and often proximate narratives of what is within landscapes.

5.4 '… you can stretch your legs and you can stretch your eyes': landscape of different scales

As has already been mentioned in some examples above, when discussing the landscape participants would often shift interchangeably between the large-scale scenes that they could look out on and then the smaller-scale, pointing out particular elements within the landscape, such as different flowers, wildlife and geomorphological features. The photographs in Figure 5-4 were taken on a walk with June and Scarlet, visiting Applecross, and help to illustrate these different scales. June described the landscapes in Applecross on a large scale, describing the elements that made up that landscape, such as the river, the trees and the mountains in the distance. In contrast she also spoke about having a 'wee bit of interest' within the landscape. This was often in relation to the wildlife within the area. This is illustrated by the second image included of a dragonfly that appeared as we were walking. The images have been arranged to show these two scales simultaneously as they are experienced. It was therefore common for the participants to appreciate the larger scenes of landscapes from a distance and then there were different elements within these landscapes that provide greater interest for them. The following two sections consider the two scales separately to highlight the difference in the way that the participants narrated them and where the two become interlinked and interwoven. In this way it will take the argument from the previous section further for a 'more-than-visual' approach to address the landscape tensions by demonstrating the positioning of the visual within a more holistic embodied and sensory experience. It will highlight that despite it being a visual approach, it is not necessarily only about viewing in the traditional 'picturesque' way of perspective and linearity. Through being outside and walking participants often shifted their focus back and forth between the wider landscape and their feet and what was more immediately around them.

'… I quite like *scenic* walks, (turns to daughter) do you? (Scarlet nods her head) Yeah. It's a wee bit of interest. So Sam was saying this walk, today, turning off, he said there is a lot of nice waterfalls and lake ponds, he said ponds you can swim in but I don't think we'll be swimming in them, that appeals you know, aha, a bit more interest.'

'… there's so much going on, I mean there's the river falling through the wee bridge, then when you look further on there's the forest, then again beyond that there's the sea and then the hills.'

Figure 5-4: Photographs taken on a walk with June and Scarlet, the picture on the left was taken by June and the picture on the right taken by me after being asked by June and Scarlet. Both quotations are June, the one on the top right is in response to the photograph that she has taken and the one on the bottom right reflecting on what kind of walk she enjoys.

5.4.1 Big landscapes and the scene

Wylie (2006: 519) describes a scenario where 'you have before you a view of a landscape receding into depth. You've been moving, perhaps, but now you've stopped to look. You're gazing ahead; the rest of your body is, comparatively, still. You're facing the view, looking into the distance.' Such a scenario was common during the walks that I undertook with the participants, as identified in the methods chapter[67]. The previous sections have highlighted how the participants would often describe what they saw in a landscape. The following quotation by Greg demonstrates the 'view' that he enjoyed during the walk:

> 'Erm, I've taken a photo of the coastline, and so that would be the view, I suppose to me as part of this walk, looking out towards the sea, erm, I suppose it doesn't actually show, does it show the horizon? (laughs and looks at the picture on the camera) Yes it does, that's good I was a bit worried! Erm, so err, in that sense you've at least got the, you've got what I suppose I would call the dramatic, the dramatic cliff faces and breaking water, so the kind of horizon in the distance as well for the distance which makes a difference I think,' (Greg, visitor, Assynt).

Greg talks about being able to see into the distance and the horizon line helping to create that distance. Appleton (1996: 80) has argued that a horizon acts as 'the edge of an impediment to the line of vision,' and as such becomes symbolic of the potential for opening up a new field of vision. Some participants commented on false horizons, the promise of seeing more from what they perceived to be a vantage point, normally on some higher ground, as shown in the following excerpt from a walk with visitors, Alexa and Maia, in Applecross:

> *[The walk is taking place in the central glen of Applecross, we had collectively decided to take a path that went up a hill to see what could be seen at the top. Maia, the young daughter of Alexa, has started to get tired climbing up the hill and has started to walk slower. Alexa and I reach the top of the hill first expecting to see a view into a further glen between two ridges.]*
>
> **Alexa:** Oh, Maia, we're sort of at the top! (laughs) sort of at the top … There's a path that goes down there, (lets out breath of air) you could walk

[67] Within this context, however, often the stopping would be to point out a bird, a flower, a tree, or to stop for breath as well as to take in 'a view of a landscape' as demonstrated by the opening page to this chapter. These details will be considered further, however, in section 5.4.2.

> across the top of the hills I suppose if you wanted … I thought you would have got a better view down the valley but you don't really.
>
> **Maia:** (from a little distance away) All that for that! (Alexa laughs).

There is a desire for participants to see a broader view, to see horizons and gaze upon them. The view is a reward for the effort taken in order to reach that vantage point. When these horizons are met but a new view or horizon isn't seen then this in turn affects the way that participants remember and experience the landscape and others like it[68]. The following section now focuses more on the smaller-scale landscapes that people discussed leading to greater sense of knowing the landscape.

5.4.2 'It's stuffed with all these things': knowing landscapes

As identified, participants would often comment on smaller aspects of the landscape, how it was composed, and also what was living and growing within the landscape. With the majority of interviews being done outside participants would often point out plants, birds or animals that they knew as we walked through or past them. Some participants remarked on the multiple scales within landscapes. The following quotation details the landscape immediately around the participant, where he lives and what that landscape is comprised of:

> 'I mean landscapes have their own aesthetic beauty on the bigger scale erm, I mean I happen to think Loch Roe for example […] is aesthetically very beautiful, something to do with the, these curves, these small curves, the kind of, well almost breast-like or, I don't know there's something feminine about it's not aggressive, it's not overpowering, the scale is lovely[69], erm, and the woodlands there, yeah that makes it, that in itself of course is very, very pleasing and I, I've a very strong sense of aesthetics, I do a lot of photography and filming and I get, a very strong sense of the aesthetics, very important to me anyway, particularly. Erm, but yeah, it's knowing that it's stuffed full of all these things going on and, and knowing that and sharing it with the wildlife is, you know it's one of the reasons why I live outdoors, almost, I mean you can't here, but it's why we come down to the caravan for half the year, it's just that sense of being with them, and being,

[68] The effect of past walking experiences and the role of horizons in influencing the embodied walking experience is discussed further in chapter 6.

[69] Along with Christian, two other participants discussed a more gendered aspect to the landscape. The other two participants, both local residents of Applecross and Assynt in contrast to Christian, however, discussed it more in relation to the lifestyle of the people who lived there. This will be discussed further in chapter 6.

> you know, it's my place as well as theirs, erm and we have to share it, and that's true of not just the seals but of course all the wildlife here,' (Christian, local resident, Assynt).

Christian highlights in particular the aesthetic qualities of the landscape, stating that it is these that he is acutely aware of, heightened by his interest in photography and video-making. Suggesting the landscape to be 'feminine' is firstly in relation to how the landscape looks, the 'curves' for Christian seeming almost breast-like and therefore make the experience of the landscape less aggressive or overpowering. Such a narrative reifies the feminist critiques of landscape that has been argued to have a 'masculine gaze' whereby landscapes are looked upon and are objects from which to gain pleasure (Nash 1996; Rose 1993; Rose *et al.* 1997; Wylie 2007). Christian, particularly, states that he finds it very pleasing and therefore actively wants to feel part of that landscape. Furthermore he gains that closer relationship through knowing what lives in the landscape and sharing it with them[70]. Further on in the interview Christian explains how he finds it difficult for him to take a 'decent' landscape photograph and is instead more focussed on the 'minutiae' within the landscape:

> 'I like the minutiae of things going on more intimately in the Bay here, I mean you know, like that, there's that heron down there and I, I mean they're amazing 'cos they kill fish when it's almost dark and I think how on earth do they see but it depends on the tide erm, that's, that's really what I feel.'

The landscape for Christian therefore, is not something that he views objectively or from a distance, indeed he uses the term at the end of the last quotation, 'that's really what I *feel*' (emphasis added). The landscape is instead something which he actively engages with and shares with others – both human and non-human – that live within these landscapes. This raises the link between what is seen, felt (emotionally) and the material of the landscape. Though the two scales have been divided they still show an interconnectedness that through the depths and folds of the landscape there is an emergent relationship between the 'seer and the seen' through being within the landscape and not merely looking upon it (Wylie 2006: 532). The following section now focuses on the changing nature of the visual landscape.

[70] This sense of belonging and knowing a landscape through being-in-the-landscape is discussed further in the chapter 6.

5.5 '… they're a living thing, they're changing': change and continuity in the landscape

So far the narratives of the landscape have been predominantly about what one can see in a landscape and how they may look. Some quotations used, however, have also commented on the way that the appearance of a landscape can change. This was a common point of discussion for many participants who would often discuss how the landscapes were subject to changes and consequently the landscapes did not always look the same. Chapter 2 identified the call by Massey (2006; 2005) for landscape to be understood as dynamic and having multiple trajectories and so not be grounded within a static ontology. Similarly, Tilley (2004: 12) argues that 'things' and places, like people, are not static but 'constantly changing and altering their nature.' Reason (1987: 40) states that 'change is an intrinsic aspect of our experience of landscape,' and that 'landscape is a polyrhythmic composition of processes whose pulse varies from the erratic flutter of leaves to the measured drift and clash of tectonic plates.' Reason, therefore, highlights once again the concept of scale but in relation to time-scale. Change within the landscape was discussed in three key ways within this research, weather (section 5.5.1), seasonality (section 5.5.2) and time, both at a geologic timescale and human timescale (section 5.5.3). Embedded within these discussions of time and change, are also ones of timelessness and a fear of change (section 5.5.4). Collectively these sections will explore the ways in which there are 'hybrid mixtures of rhythms and tempos and durations where nonhuman elements play active parts' within human-landscape relations (Jones 2011b: 2301).

5.5.1 Weather and the landscape

The role of the sky within the landscape has been briefly discussed earlier in the chapter in section 5.3.2. Despite this Ingold (2005) has identified a distinct lack of engagement in the literature with the role of weather on the practices of vision. Ingold (2005: 98) further argues that weather is 'invariably multisensory' and as such weather is primarily 'seen' because it is heard, felt and smelt. This section is primarily concerned with the visual effects the weather has on the landscape but it will also demonstrate how this influences the more-than-visual experience of landscape[71]. This section, therefore, explores these more ephemeral and rapid changes that can occur and influence the visual landscape. In so doing it will demonstrate that landscapes and weather are not

[71] Section 6.3 will explore explicitly the multi-sensory experience of landscapes.

objective entities distant from people but are gazed upon, lived and experienced simultaneously.

In response to being asked about what a landscape is to them, one participant initially responded by acknowledging the 'space and peace' of the landscape, but then discussed in further detail that landscape was always changing, particularly in response to the weather:

> '… it is always changing I mean look at today weather wise you've had everything and you look out the windows and it's never really the same view err and you know, the mount, the mountains are sometimes looking really threatening, you know they're really black and erm, I mean there's a great drama in the landscape there's a mixture of landscape and weather obviously but the landscape creates its own weather, you know certainly the mountains do and, and you can see clouds forming and you know, the rain coming off the Atlantic and hitting the mountains and that, I mean again all those things obviously impact what erm peoples' lives, fishing or crofting or whether you work in the garden or whatever,' (Rose, local resident, Applecross).

This change in the landscape for Rose, and for many participants in both case study areas, was something that was identified as a key positive quality of the landscapes. They acknowledged that they liked the fact the landscape would never look the same from day-to-day. Reason (1987: 40) argues that the more ephemeral and fleeting effects from cloud and weather patterns 'create a patina of transience on apparently stable forms.' The mountains within the quotation above are seen as relatively stable and in fact contribute to the formation of the weather systems that then act upon it. Furthermore, Rose identifies how this more rapid change can influence the relationship that people have with the landscape and how they may use it, particularly those that work directly with it, such as crofters. This suggests a much more immersive and proximal relationship with the landscape rather than a more distant one, due to an awareness of the visual warnings within the landscape, such as the mountains looking 'threatening' and 'black' signifying the potential of an oncoming rain storm.

Visitors would often comment on how the weather changed the visual qualities of the landscape as for example in the following quotation:

> '… it was my sister basically came here and said (sharp intake of breath) this gives me the feeling of north [home country within Europe],' it did

> remind me of something but erm, yeah, it's just so stunningly beautiful everywhere and it's. Yes because it's, it changes so much depending on weather and everything, I would never get, you know tired of it the way that I think I would because it's, yeah it's basically in the north of [home country] where you get that changes but not where I've lived recently which it's very much the same. Yeah I really appreciate that when you can see new things in the landscape, that yeah you've looked at so many times and there's still another way of looking at it,' (Jemima, visitor, Applecross).

For Jemima it is a sense of seeing the landscape differently that the changing weather contributes; it will never look or be the same. Likewise, Edward, commented on how the weather had, up until the day of the walk, been wet and so he was enjoying being out in the landscape and the walk not feeling like a trudge. He also took a picture (Figure 5-5) of the landscape at this point, saying that it contrasted the drama of the cliffs with the softness of it being a 'really nice day' weather wise.

Many participants discussed how the weather influenced their experience of the landscape, as well as how it influenced the way that it looked. This begins to highlight that landscapes are not just visual and looked at from a distance but are experienced in diverse ways. In contrast, the following quotation from a local resident in Assynt argues that, for him, landscape is a combination of both having a personal history of living with(in) the landscape as well as the influence of short-term changes such as the weather, light and sea patterns making the landscape always different:

> 'Yeah, it's a combination for me personally of having grown up in the area anyway and just an extension of who you are, when you're living in the area anyway, it's part of you. You can, take somebody off the hills and out of the hills but you can't take the hills out of the people, same with the land, the land is part of the people, because we look around every day, we rise, it's totally different, all the views are slightly different from the day before and the day before that, you'll never get two exactly the same because the cloud patterns are different, the weather's different, the land, the light is different, the sea's even a different colour so therefore it's a beautiful panoramic view of err, all sorts each and every day really, you know, because it can change as well, through the day' (Steven, local resident, Assynt, emphasis in original).

Edward: Well that's spectacular!

Amy: Why do you think that?

Edward: Err, well we're looking down on a lighthouse that's at a point on the edge of a peninsula erm, and you've got rugged cliffs going down towards where there's water and whereas now it's quite nice to be able to step back and take in the views, I can see the birds sitting on the cliffs, white foam breaking beneath them, so it's quite dramatic in that sense I suppose but you've got the, the blue sky and the softness of the fact that for once it's actually a really nice day. So I think I'm actually enjoying being out here and it not being grey so I guess it's, yeah I guess it's really nice to actually be out and about and to actually enjoy things when it's not apocalyptically bad weather so, normally it would be a trudge if it was bad weather,'

Figure 5-5: Photograph taken by Edward (visitor, Assynt) with a quotation of his reaction when he saw the landscape and before he took the picture.

Steven highlighted his personal multiple trajectories of time that influenced how he experienced the landscape. Through continuous interactions with the landscape – both past and present – you begin to see the changing patterns within the landscape which are in part influenced by the natural processes and interaction of sky, sea and land. As with the discussion around the sea and the *land*scape, the weather and the sky were incorporated within participants' understandings of it. 'Landscape' and, in particularly, the materiality of landscape is thus broadened to incorporate the different elements that constitute it. The following section looks at more cyclical patterns of change within the landscape from the seasons.

5.5.2 Seasonality: 'change' and 'continuity'

References to time were mentioned frequently by participants as were the effect of time on the appearance of the landscape. The influence of time and movement – both of people and within the landscape – were heightened through the nature of walking through the landscape as part of the research process[72]. Ingold (2000: 201) argues that 'the rhythmic pattern of human activities nests … within the wider pattern of activity of all so-called living things, which nests within the life-process of the world'. Furthermore, Crang (2001: 206-207) argues that time is not 'an external measure but intrinsic' and more attention should be given to 'cycles, to flux and repetition'. This section explores the influence of the seasons on the landscape, in particular, highlighting that they brought about change on the landscape but that it was the repetition of change that provided continuity for participants with the landscape. It challenges the tension between eye/land, where land is a distant and objective entity to one that is lived and inhabited (Wylie 2007). Furthermore, through exploring and engaging with these rhythms highlights landscape are an active agent within socio-landscape relations.

As with the weather, the seasons were made prominent by the fact of the walks being in the landscape and participants commenting on the way the landscapes appeared on the walk because of the time of year, as shown in the following quotation from Andrew, (local resident, Applecross):

> 'Yes that's the thing when you, you know in the spring time when of course you've got the bracken around here, I mean it's nice at the moment, and

[72] The effect of individual movement within the landscape is discussed in greater depth in the following chapter.

> even the heather gives off a little bit of scent, you know, it's err, it's completely, just the colours and that's the thing what makes err, well anything that's you know, a photo, it's only just this little bit in time, isn't it but a place it changes, you know […] there's always something different to see and you know even, even the silly thing like the midge it's got it's little place because you think to yourself 'oh damn midge' or something but it isn't because it's got its little place here too and that stops you coming up, because you know we can feel the odd one at the moment but the thing is that will stop you coming up of a summers evening and you might say 'oh look at this we can sit out in the evening,' no you can't! (laughs) So these are all things that change it, just ever so slightly, ever so subtly, you know […] And then of course the different wildlife at different times of the year, you know, if you were to sit here long enough you would, probably an otter would come past or a pine marten certainly would, and you just don't know. So it's err, you know, it all changes itself, nature changing … yes.'

On the following page are a set of photographs (Figure 5-6) that refer to the seasons in which they were taken. Carl, a local resident of Applecross, who provided the photographs labelled them as 'showing the beauty of Applecross'. Once again the images are more 'traditional' in the re-presentation of the landscape, creating an impression of distance and layering (as in previous section) but when read in conjunction with the above quotations, the difference in colour indicates a greater reflection on the experience of the participant when taking the photographs in the different seasons. There are parallels here with the discussions around the colours within the landscape and in turn how these can be determined by the season and influence how the landscape is viewed:

> 'I mean they [landscapes] are, they are beautiful and they're changing, you know they change a lot depends on which season you see them in and what light you see them in. Erm, and even, particularly in the winter in a real storm it's you know, kind of amazing to see the sea erm, although it's not, you know it's not as violent here as it gets elsewhere because it's really quite enclosed,' (Yvonne, local resident, Applecross).

Yvonne particularly reflects on the changing nature of the sea during the more stormy months of winter. The participants' narratives of the change within the landscape suggest that the landscape itself is a dynamic entity such as they are, it is not something that remains the same just as with people. Yet embedded within these narratives of seasonal changes, in particular, was a sense of stability and 'continuity' which they

Figure 5-6: A selection of photographs by Carl, a local resident of Applecross, to highlight the 'beauty of Applecross'. These photographs made particular reference to the seasons, starting top left and moving clockwise, 'Summer in Ardhu', ' Camusterrach on a summers evening' and 'Autumn Cuillin'.

could depend on within their lives:

> '… I love Milton loch and again because it's close but (coughs) for you know wild flowers and orchids in, in June, July it's the most spectacular place, there's always fish sticking their noses out of the water and again I just like noticing the kind of changes so you got all the reeds in there at the moment two months from now erm, it'll be completely clear you know they'll all die back the water-lilies will sink below the surface and they only thing that will survive are these big tubers err erm, and you've got that whole season of seeing the tadpoles and the frogs you know the birds that come and go the whooper swans when they come over, it is always something to see and, and it's that sense of change. So there's a few things I mean that sense of change I think it's great and you see that in the woodland as well but also the sense of continuity you know these repeating cycles of, of err repeating patterns that are familiar you know you've got expectations when you're waiting for the, the tadpoles to appear again for the first err favourite orchids to, to bud out err for the first you know your first cep of the season, that was my first cep erm, you know for the first err bud break err of the trees after a long cold winter …' (Josh, local resident, Applecross).

Here Josh understands seasonality both as a transformative process within the landscape but also as one that is – relatively – reliable due to the cyclical nature of the seasons. Cloke & Jones (2001: 158) reflect similarly that though individual species – both human and non-human – can change within the landscape the landscape itself – and the mix of life within that landscape – maintains a 'oneness which is bound together in some form of cohesion.' They stress, however, that it is within a 'dynamic, time-embedded sense, rather than in comparison with any fixed time-point referencing,' (*ibid*.). In relation to the discussions of scale previously, there is a similar tension that emerged among the participants that landscapes are considered as being both changeable and constant over time.

Furthermore, this repeated cycle of seasons along with the time spent in the landscapes by the local resident participants and visitor participants who have second homes appeared to create a sense of a deeper relationship between the participant and the landscape. Josh (above), for example, describes in almost specific detail the wildlife that he looks to see within the landscape to signal the start of new seasons. An example of this occurred whilst on the walk, finding his first cep mushroom. Likewise, the following quotation from Jonathon, a local resident in Assynt, discusses the whole

seasonal cycle and its impact on the landscape and directly describes the landscape as 'living' because of the cyclical changes that occur:

> 'No they're a living thing, they're changing, they change with the seasons of the year. You see in the winter time these hills and the landscape is covered in snow, in the spring time you see the grass starting to come through, then summer time it's blossoming, everything's thriving, you see birds nested, there's young on the go, the deer have their calves, all the sheep have their lambs and it's a living environment and then by the autumn time it starts to die a bit again 'cos everything changes colour to browns and rusty sort of browns and all kinds of dark purples and just beautiful scenery really. And when you get that then you're looking around and you're seeing it different all the time really.'

For Jonathon landscapes are a living system and it is the productivity of the seasonal cycle that enhances the beauty of the environment that he sees.

On the walks in Assynt, particularly, there were a number of participants who commented on the lateness of the season. The research was conducted in April/May 2013 and many participants commented that the landscape should be 'further on' by that time, referring to markers within the landscape that signal the oncoming of spring only just starting to come through:

> 'Look at these clumps of primroses, just huge, look, and the little dog violets coming up, it's a lovely combination and of course now the bluebells are coming up, mixing it as well, as well as the odd dandelion. It's just beautiful now, it's really all beginning to come really quite exciting. Should be further ahead than now, we're definitely behind,' (Louis, local resident Assynt).

Once again there was a level of knowledge that the participants had of the landscape due to the closeness that they had with it through living there on a daily basis. Ingold (2000: 153) argues that from a 'dwelling perspective' – the immersion of people within the landscape – 'the world continually comes into being around the inhabitant, and its manifold constituents take on significance through their incorporation into a regular pattern of life activity.' The participants of this study, particularly those who lived there or were repeat visitors, reflected this notion of a dwelling perspective in their narratives of the changing landscapes including across the yearly cycle. The following section

takes this further by considering two different timescales, geologic and human and the influences this distinction had on participants' narratives of the landscape.

5.5.3 Geologic time and human time

Previous sections have highlighted how participants observed and described material landscapes and how their appearance could change due to weather and the seasons. In contrast, this section focusses on the large timescale of geologic forces that participants mentioned and the role of local populations both past and present on the landscape's appearance[73].

> '… it's strange because when you look down … yeah you look down there you wonder how that all happened and I guess when we get further round the headland we'll find stacks and things that have been eroded and things but I find that, I find the story interesting, yes, how it's got to where it is,' (Wayne, visitor, Assynt).

Many participants discussed the rocks and the geology of the landscapes and how they had shaped the landscapes of the area as demonstrated by the quotation above. For visitors, in particular, the geological story of the landscape was of interest to know how it had influenced the appearance of the landscape. We find something similar in the following excerpt from the interview with Anna (original emphasis), a visitor to Applecross:

> **Anna:** … You wonder how long the stones have been around, how they formed and how many people have seen this river.
>
> **Amy:** Do you find it interesting then how landscapes or certain landforms in landscapes have formed?
>
> **Anna:** Yeah, yes. I didn't think I did, I always found it interesting when I studied it but the more you look the more interesting it becomes, the way water shapes things that you would consider impossible for them to make any mark on and yet water can make this mark against them. You find stones and rocks all the time that have had water marks and it's quite amazing. How can something that doesn't appear to have any strength have so much strength? But rocks alone have been formed by *masses* and masses of matter on top of them, haven't they? Millions of years. How does that

[73] Once again this reflects the calls by Massey (2006; 2005) and Tilley and Bennett (2004) for the recognition of multiple time trajectories within landscapes, creating a more mobile concept of landscape.

> work? How does that happen? … And it'll be here a long time after I've gone, just a blip in time!
>
> **Amy:** So what do you think that all,
>
> **Anna:** (starts talking before I can finish asking the question) Continuity. Continuity, that's the first thing that came into my head as soon as you were going to ask me the question! It's the continuity of life.

Once again the notion of continuity is raised, however, here it is considered in relation to life more broadly continuing, even when individuals may have died. This resonates with Cloke & Jones (2001) and the idea of the 'oneness' of landscape that allows it to be perceived as permanent despite the constituent parts that may change and evolve. It was the longevity and age of the rocks that suggested permanence to the landscape. However, the people that lived on it could change it on a faster, more small scale way:

> **Hope:** It's a bit like ownership of, different geographic areas, how far back we go as to who owns what, I mean I often think this about, you can't change the heathland now, you can't, you know, you can't, it's not encouraged to plant grass in certain areas where there is heathland because it's depleting but I mean how far back do you go and then before then.
>
> **Adele:** Yeah exactly, you can't go, yeah.
>
> **Hope:** Before then, yeah it was something different, before then ice age, second ice age, so it's actually, it's all been created in a way by the environment, weather, people. We're right on the edge, you probably know this, we're right on the edge of a erm, glacier here you know it comes, it came down to Cuaig, so you can see the rock.
>
> **Howard:** Yeah you can see the exact line where, this, this here is erm, moraine, drop off, of you go to Fearnmore, about a mile up you're out of it there and the road up at that end in Fearnmore is right on top of the rock and the road at Cuaig you'll see as you go past the viewpoint as you go right, they cut right through these big banks which are just sands and stones. So we're right at the very edge of where that glacier stopped. So it's a real, from a geologist point of view, it's a really interesting spot.

The above extract from the interview with Julie and Paul (local residents, Applecross) and Hope (visitor, Applecross) highlights the knowledge of those that lived in the landscape of the geological, climatic and ecological processes that have shaped the landscape. They raise the question of time within landscape management and to which

point in history you go back to when considering what you are trying to manage (Lorimer 2000). Hope also considers the role of ownership within this, acknowledging the social history within the landscape. Participants' narratives of the landscape were often very personal responses to the landscape but also linked to broader scale, social and cultural processes which may play out within the landscape as highlighted by the following quotation:

> '… [this is] a landscape that is alive, to a lot of people it looks like the end of the road, the furthest south part of the road, erm, a handful of houses, you can see what, one, two, three, four, five, six from where we're standing at the moment but to me it's a landscape that's alive with, you know, things to do with history, the supernatural, the natural, social change, it's a really important part of the world as far as I'm concerned,' (Martin, local resident, Applecross).

Martin, who was born and grew up in Applecross, was keen to emphasize how the history of people – including his own ancestors – within the landscape shaped how he experienced it. Martin went on to describe a particular area that we were walking past and described it as a 'waste' as it would once have been worked by crofters but is now under a landscape designation preventing it from being worked:

> 'And a lot of people driving down here, even those raised in Applecross look at this and it's just waste but it shouldn't be and it wasn't always like that so it's about change and understanding change and understanding why things have gone the way they've gone.'

For Martin, this area showed how people had influenced this particular area which had evolved as a result of human use and management of the land. Mackenzie (2010) argues that landscape bearing the 'markings of different peoples' histories' help to demonstrate how intertwined 'social' and 'natural' processes at work within the landscape. Thus such temporality and visibility of past working communities demonstrates that landscape have the markings of numerous immersive and lived in relationships through time. This demonstrates the 'culture/spectacle' tension as Martin argues that people regard this particular areas as a 'mess' and not the lived in landscape that it once was. This raises questions in relation to what 'nature' and 'culture' discourses may be influencing landscape management agendas and practices, which is discussed further in chapter 7.

This historical and family attachment to the landscape was also shown by Mark, a local resident in Assynt. He worked for many years on the land as a gillie as did his father and grandfather before him, and as such he saw the landscape not as something distant but something which he was part of and which was part of him:

> 'But yeah I mean it's just a part of us up here, the hill side, the landscape, it's just an extension of what we are really. We live in the landscape and to me I look around here and I see erm, probably a great food source as well because we lived off the land for all these years, we live off the salmon from the rivers, the sea provides us with sea fish, lobsters, crabs, prawns and then look around the deer on the hill and the sheep, that provides us with food as well, as well as our own gardens which grew food as well you know vegetables and therefore to me it's a bit like looking at Tesco or Asda, really. It's, it's a way of life and err, we lived off the land really and we live off the hills in the surrounding areas,' (Mark, Assynt, local resident).

This attachment is felt even because of what Mark can see that the landscape can provide in the form of food which can sustain him and his family. This indicates a productive understanding of landscape, one that can be used and lived within, as opposed to the aesthetically dominated views of landscapes discussed previously in this chapter. This raises the interlinked nature of people with the landscape. This was a view that was often given by local residents who were born and raised in the case study areas, as Kay, a local resident from Assynt remarked, 'it's the history, it's the people and the history of the people, what's helped shape this land the way it is.'

The following section looks at this relationship further from the perspective of a fear of the landscape changing as a result of people living with(in) the landscape and the lifestyle they wish to live there. The theme of different views of the landscape in relation to landscape management is explored in further detail in chapters 7 and 8.

5.5.4 A fear of change

In relation to the human changes that can be evidently seen in the landscapes in Applecross and Assynt, some participants were concerned about this, and particularly about changes they perceived to be caused by people. This highlighted a distinction between productive understandings of landscape and more preservationist

understandings of landscape[74] and reflects some of the tensions around 'spectacle/culture' discussed in chapter 2. Figure 5-7 is a poem that was provided by a participant, Olivia (local resident, Applecross). She wanted to give me this poem to emphasize her fear for the area, particularly as a result of mismanagement. I was keen to explore Olivia's use of the word 'fear' as it was not a common term used by many participants in either case study area. Her response to my question about how this influenced her experience within the landscapes was as follows:

> 'Well (laugh) you know like if you just come on holiday you would just look at it and think this is such a beautiful place, you can't see the Cuillins now, and you would go away from here thinking that it could never change but if you live here and you go to council meetings, you read things in the paper and something happens like this ALPS scheme, you know, you realise, 'no,' if I wasn't here stopping things happening, you know, all the paths maybe would have been bigger paths that they've repaired and really, we didn't even want them to do anything at Coille Ghillie but in the end we had to do some things so. But we were always there saying 'no' you know and 'we don't want signs up'. You know they were talking about having a sign here saying (incredulous laugh) what [township] was, you know like Walt Disney thing. And erm a seat you know, 'we could build you a lovely seat'. 'Well why do we need a lovely seat, we've got Alec's[75] seat' you know. That sort of thing, didn't want it to change and erm so you realise that when that sort of thing happens well it is a fragile place. Although it's been like this for so many years, maybe that's the very thing that makes it sometimes be more likely that it might change.'

For Olivia there is a sense of the past that she wishes to maintain through the visual landscape. For example mentioning 'Alec's seat' which had become a symbol of the past community – of which there is now no one living in this particular township – she wished to maintain rather than being replaced by a new one. This fear of the visual landscape changing through human management that Olivia has keenly raises a number of issues in relation to the management of landscapes. Firstly, how much of the way a landscape is composed should be preserved; how much importance should be given to local human history and finally how far should land managers be influenced by tourism

[74] This distinction, and the implications of these different understandings of landscape in relation to landscape management are discussed further in chapter 7.

[75] Alec was an elder member of the community when Olivia first moved to the area and I was told that he would often sit outside on a stone slab that was joined to a stone building and read the paper, consequently, this became known as his seat.

‘Like Ants’

Jet streams criss-cross the sky
Like random rockets launched by vandals
Thin trails that fluff and flatten into cloud

The sky slides down into the sea
Where phantom vessels leave clear trails of light
The wind, a breathy whisper, calms the waves

The sort of day that follows star-filled nights
Stiff grass and backlit boot treads standing proud
Glazed puddles, bubble-wrapped beneath, that creak

And now a speck
A tiny blob of boat …

And this could be another time
My pen a weapon hung about with orders
I know that I could take you out
That I could blast you
Out of Paradise
And never know
That you were Duncan John
With your dear Girl Beth
Dancing on diamonds

Olivia: And this one, this is like the, the, that shows the sort of fear I’ve got because I was actually walking from Sand to erm, from Sand down to Clachan and err I could see Duncan John who’s you know from, he’s got the boat here and his boat then was called the Girl Beth and he was right out in that bay, you know this was a frosty day as well and erm you know I just thought, he, you know he was so small in the sea. That only I knew that it was DJ and it could easily if I’d been an enemy or something like that I could have just shot him and thought, ‘there’s nothing’, just like ants, we kill ants don’t we? Well I don’t kill ants! But people do and yet they’re part of a huge network aren’t they? A system of ant-dom! (laughs) Well everything is, it’s all connected and it can be so easily spoilt. … And Ard Dubh’s like that in terms, in relationship to the rest of the world as well isn’t it you know? …

Figure 5-7: Poem 'Like Ants' written by Olivia (local resident, Applecross).

and what visitors want and/or expect, through expanding paths and putting in signs? Such questions highlight the tensions that can exist when wanting to understand multiple stakeholder values for the landscape and the tensions and challenges that are likely to arise from it. This will be discussed in further detail in chapter 8.

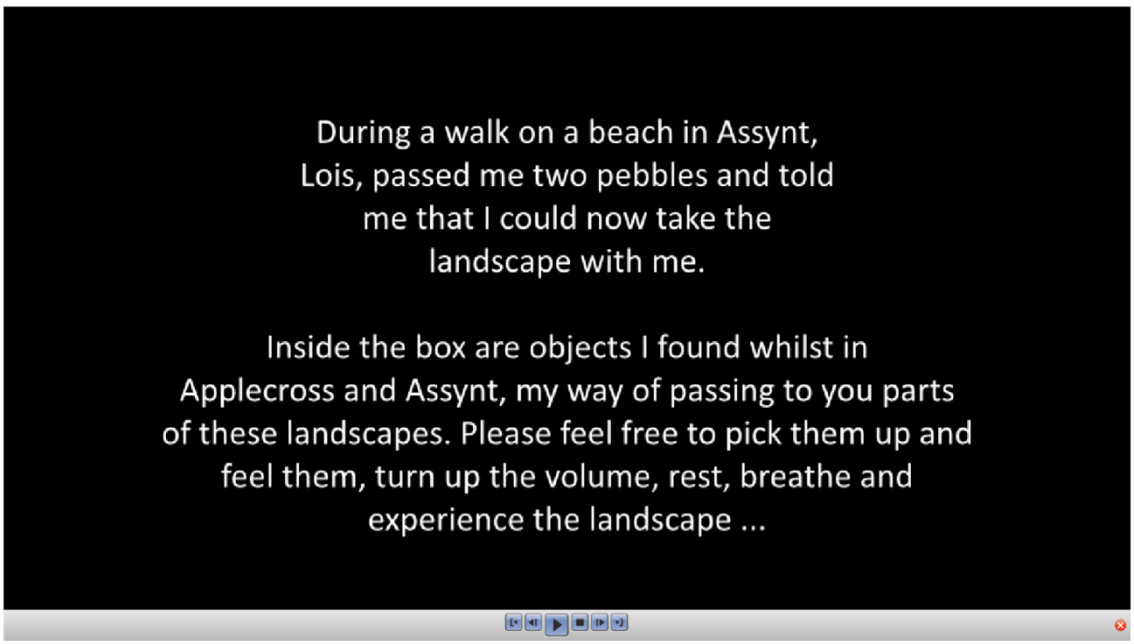
Olivia also articulates a tentative notion of connectedness between people and the landscape but that connection is, for her, one dominated by people. Throughout this section and the chapter more broadly there is a sense that participants do not 'objectively' gaze upon the landscape from a distance but that they are part of a broader landscape network. This echoes Cloke and Jones (2001: 650) who have argued that 'how (non)human actants are embedded in landscapes and places as well as networks, how nature and culture are bound together in place, and how these formations invariably have a time-depth where past, present and future are interconnected'. A phenomenological understanding of dwelling recognises that through habitation the life-cycles and everyday activities of people become nested within broader lifecycles (Brace & Geoghegan 2010; Ingold 2000).

5.6 Conclusions

This chapter has shown how participants simultaneously visualised and narrated 'landscape'. Though participants may have provided more 'traditional' re-presentations of the landscape within the images provided, when narrating the landscape there was greater emphasis on embedding that perspective seen within 'more-than-visual' and emotional experiences and narratives. The chapter began, however, by highlighting the challenge that some participants raised in relation to defining what 'landscape' was. Working through this challenge the participants identified many of the key broader narratives of articulating a more visual response to landscape. Three predominant narratives of the visual landscape were discussed; description of the material landscape, scale and change/time. This demonstrated the tensions between a supposed objectivity of the land and the subjectivity of what participants see (Cosgrove 2003; Wylie 2007). For participants, landscapes are both a scene that is looked at and also have embedded within them (non)human actants – such as the sea and weather – that influence the formation of the landscape. Furthermore, landscapes are also understood in more of a small-scale as well as the larger scale allowing participants to feel more intimate with the landscape and connected with it.

The final section raised the issue of temporality and rhythm in relation to landscape, temporality in so much that landscapes were seen as 'always changing'. Landscapes were seen as something that was static but also something that was living and had been lived in. Yet despite this there was also a rhythm to that change, the cycles of weather patterns and seasons were ones that participants felt marked a continuity of landscape which they could rely upon. For many participants then, their gaze upon the landscape was, far from being (only) detached but also a reflection of how they experienced and were immersed within the landscape thus creating a 'more-than-visual' experience.

Wylie (2007: 152, original emphasis) argues, '[w]hen I look, I *see* with landscape. I am neither looking *at* it, nor straightforwardly placed 'inside' it. I am intertwined instead within an unfolding differentiation.' This chapter has raised the idea that the participants of this research did not just 'look' at a landscape or simply 'see' it. In reality this is a much more complex and embodied encounter and relationship. Landscape is not just 'a way of seeing' but is experienced both mentally and physically. The following chapter will add a further layer to this by considering how the participants not only 'saw' the landscape in complex ways but felt the landscape through the body in a multi-sensory way, drawing on a more embodied and performative approach to the landscape. This will further develop the discussion on time and temporality within this chapter, but with a focus on the mobility of individuals within the landscape and, therefore, will expand further the 'more-than-visual' approach taken in the thesis.



Please open the box[76], feel free to feel the objects inside and play the video entitled 'Experiencing landscape'.

[76] For the examination of the thesis a box of collected items from Applecross and Assynt were provided. As the thesis is being stored electronically photographs are provided of the box and its contents in Appendix 6.

6 'For me it's being in them[77]': experiencing the landscape

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted a question asked by Wylie (2007) as to whether landscape is something that is looked at or something that is lived in. The previous chapter focussed specifically on the ways in which participants observed and narrated the visual landscape. Yet as was demonstrated, though inherently visual, the landscape was also something 'more-than-visual' and the visual was part of a much broader immersive and embodied experience. This chapter seeks to demonstrate further how landscapes are both gazed on and embodied simultaneously through seeing and feeling through the body.

The chapter draws on concepts of embodiment, inhabitation and dwelling whereby, 'it is through being inhabited that the world becomes a meaningful environment' (Ingold 2000: 173; Wylie 2007). This phenomenological perspective is thus concerned with 'being-in-the-world' as opposed to landscape being gazed upon, objectively, 'out there' (Wylie 2003). The focus, therefore, for this chapter is on the 'everyday textures' (Wylie 2007: 6) of being-in-the-landscape and exploring the evolving relationship between bodies and landscape. The previous chapter argued for a broader understanding of 'landscape' that incorporated different elements, such as the sea, sky, habitats, as well as embedding the visual within a more holistic, immersive sensory experience. Ingold (2006: 14, original emphasis) argues similarly for a 'meshwork' where 'beings do not simply occupy the world, they *inhabit* it, and … in threading their own paths … contribute to its ever-evolving weave.' Furthermore, Ingold (2000) uses the concept of 'taskscapes'[78] whereby landscapes are worked within by people. These, he argues, have multiple temporalities, which occur simultaneously, in the present by bodily engagement, the past through previous experience and memory and the future with the hopes and aspirations of the individual. Through adopting 'dwelling' and 'taskscape' the aim in this chapter is to challenge the objective, distancing of the landscape gaze and of landscape being known primarily as a cultural product and instead to regard landscape as something always in a state of becoming.

[77] Quotation taken from Catherine, local resident of Applecross, the full quotation is used in section 6.3.1.

[78] Ingold (2000: 194-195) describes the 'taskscape' as 'the experience of those who, in their activities, carry forward the process [of] social life.' Here the undertaking of activities and 'tasks' are the 'constitutive acts of dwelling' that are related to one another with meaning derived from 'within an ensemble of tasks' rather than being understood separately and out of context.

This chapter also considers the role of emotions and memories in understanding how landscapes are known. Central to this is exploring temporalities, both of the landscape and the participants. Where the two intersect can provide insights between human and non-human relations (Jones 2011a; Jones & Garde-Hansen 2012). Related to this is the notion of therapeutic landscapes where the role of the non-human – namely the landscape – is acknowledged as an actor within these body-mind-landscape relations (Conradson 2005; Lea 2008).

The chapter begins (section 6.2) by considering how participants spent time 'being-in-the-landscape', specifically highlighting both walking and working in the landscape. This section particularly draws on the role of movement and performativity with(in) the landscape and the influence this has on participants' experiences, responding, in particular, to the call from Merriman *et al.* (2008: 192) to challenge 'the static pictorialism others associate with landscape'. This is then followed by a broader discussion of non-visual senses and the challenges of representing them (section 6.3). How experiences of landscape are often embedded with emotions of the participants, through feelings of belonging and memories, is discussed in section 6.4. Emotions are then taken further by exploring the ways in which landscapes can be therapeutic for participants by bringing together mind, body and landscape (section 6.5). Finally, the chapter ends by summarising the key arguments (section 6.6).

6.2 Being-in-the-landscape: movement and performance through and within the landscape

This section is concerned primarily with the relationship between bodies and the landscape around them, specifically exploring how such a perspective animates landscapes into something that is always becoming (Merriman *et al.* 2008; Rose & Wylie 2006). In exploring this relationship it considers a relational approach to landscape following the writing of Massey (2005; 2006) which argues space is relational and contains multiple time trajectories. Crouch (2003: 1945) argues for the use of the term `spacing' to 'identify subjective and practical ways in which the individual handles his or her material surroundings'. Spacing can be positioned in relation to how action within a space can help people to understand and make sense of that space (or landscape) and provides 'mechanisms of opening up possibilities' (*ibid.*). Through focussing on the act of moving through the landscape, this emphasises the involvement of the whole body and not only the act of gazing out from a fixed point

(Lee & Ingold 2006). Consequently there is a 'shifting interaction of person and environment' and landscapes become known not only by what is in them but by the routes that are taken through them (*ibid.*: 68).

Wylie (2007: 167) argues that the increased emphasis on embodied research has turned landscape from a distant object to be gazed on to 'an up-close, intimate and proximate material milieu of engagement and practice.' This section, therefore will discuss how movement, in particular familiar and everyday practices, effects how participants experience and know these landscapes, including walking (section 6.2.1) and working (section 6.2.2).

6.2.1 Walking and moving in/through the landscape

> **Amy:** Oh no I'm sorry but I've got my hair stuck in a tree! *[laughs, both Colette and Tina stop walking and turn around and look to see if they can help.]*
>
> **Tina:** There are problems with nature!
>
> *[I pull my hair free and we all laugh and then continue to walk on and Tina goes back to talking about being outside and the emotional benefits of it]*

The methods chapter (chapter 4) highlighted the performativity of the walking interviews and the ways that movement of walking and being outside in the landscapes influenced how participants then spoke about them. The above extract from a walk with two participants, Tina (local resident, Applecross) and Colette (visitor, Applecross) highlights the presence of the landscape around us as we were walking and how it created physical obstacles that had to be dealt with, in this instance me getting my hair caught. Tilley & Bennett (2004: 10) argue that the body is 'constantly opening out itself to the world as it moves in it'. Consequently, the body reacts, adjusts and responds to the obstacles that may be there. This was reflected on by other participants who indicated that when walking, particularly if they went off paths or walked on paths that were less well maintained, they had to be more aware of how they were moving:

> '[…] you have to watch your head and dodge around a little bit, you have to be careful not to poke an eye out or bump your head, I'm always bumping my head because now that I've got so little hair, it's a real challenge but […] no you're very conscious of err, of the environment as you walk around it like this,' (Jason, local resident, Assynt).

Jason articulated a sense of learning from the physical interaction with the landscape, for example, trying to be careful not to bump his head or poke an eye. Furthermore, he was more aware of where his body was in relation to what was in the landscape and also conscious of the landscape itself and how he interacted with it. For many, walking was a way to know and *get to know* the landscape as they needed to respond to it or 'deal' with obstacles as they arose:

> '… when we first came here which was about thirty-eight years ago, it was before the road. So people were still walking around everywhere […] There were no roads to drive round on and they knew the landscape incredibly well. And that of course changes when people drive through it … because if you're actually walking all the time you know you're noticing, the hills and the, the area we're walking through, the boggy bits but if you're driving through it […] you're not having to deal with it really,' (Cheryl, local resident, Applecross, original emphasis).

This perspective was also described by Gillian, who similarly moved to Applecross and often went for walks with her dog:

> 'But I think it's just a space and I just like the space and [the dog] and I just wander! You know we just wander wherever we feel like it up the hill and whatever and very seldom meet anybody erm I mean you just become far more aware of your surroundings …' (Gillian, local resident, Applecross).

Walking for both Cheryl and Gillian therefore became a way of knowing the landscape in which they live and work. By being-in-the-landscape through walking there is a need to 'deal' with and be aware of what is there in the landscape and to respond to it. Ingold & Vergunst (2008: 2) similarly argue that walking 'is itself a way of thinking and of feeling' and therefore it is the practice of walking and not just what is being seen that allows people to 'know' the landscape. Gillian places value on being able to 'wander wherever' indicating a responsiveness to the terrain and a desire for an 'exploration feeling' (Lee & Ingold 2006: 76). For participants in this study this feeling was often in response to emotional situations and how they felt that may prompt or encourage them to go for a walk. Many participants discussed the freedom associated with 'ranging wherever' they wanted to go. For some this was related to a sense of discovery, as illustrated in the following extracts from two visitors, the first Liam (Applecross):

> **Amy:** You don't mind going off track?

> **Liam:** No I quite like it, well as long as you don't get lost. That's one of the good things about walking here, some cases you get an outline and then you can make your own way, as long as you're not going to end up getting lost.
>
> **Amy:** Why do you think you like going off the track?
>
> **Liam:** I don't know, I don't always like following rules, it's like you're breaking new ground.

For Liam there was a balance between being able to have a loose guide to prevent getting lost but then also being able to go off track and 'break new ground'. Again a sense of discovery for Liam is articulated and of going against the rules. Verity (visitor, Assynt, original emphasis) similarly discussed a sense of 'discovering' the landscape:

> 'Yeah, discovering and then feeling like it's yours, you come through, yeah you know that somebody's built the path and people have been there before but you tell yourself, 'oh nobody's been here for ages,' and you're discovering this secret place and you get there and there's nobody else there and you do feel like you've found it. Yeah maybe it's going back to sort of Enid Blyton thing, I always loved those! (laughs) Yeah The Secret Garden and you open this door and there's this whole world on the other side that nobody knows about, yeah.'

For Verity, it is a sense of discovery but also recognition of someone having been there before that is significant. There is a sense of multiple temporalities within the landscape, of, Verity's present and the landscape's past inhabitants being interconnected. Ingold (2006) argues that once people move they can be understood as lines across and through landscape helping to create an interwoven 'meshwork'. For Verity and other participants there was a reflection on the literal creation of routes through the landscape by those who have inhabited the landscape – both human and non-human (deer and sheep primarily) – in the past and present, creating routes through it that are still being used today. Furthermore, the dynamic understanding of this performative and transformative relationship between people and landscape is one that is 'continually and reciprocally bring one another into existence,' (*ibid.*: 10).

Alongside the individual reaction to walking in the landscape, there was awareness for the sociability of walking and interactions – both convivially and bodily – with people and the landscape. The following extract from a walk with Lena and Marianna (visitors,

Applecross) highlights an interaction between mother and daughter that occurs due to being on a walk:

> **Lena:** […] they were making up stories [yesterday], we found that when Marianna was younger we did that sort of thing, made up stories. (To Marianna) We still do now and again, don't we? And she's saying to her dad, 'don't make it a happy ending, make it a happy ending!'
>
> **Marianna:** No! Don't make it a … bad ending.
>
> **Lena:** Don't make it a sad ending.
>
> **Marianna:** Ba-ad!
>
> **Lena:** Bad ending. Well, you do tend to talk rubbish but it passes the time and probably brings you closer a wee bit, doesn't it?

Lena reflects that though the conversation itself may be regarded as meaningless it is the act of walking and being in an environment where there are no other distractions that allows them to make up stories together. Consequently, family and social ties are perceived to be strengthened. The process of walking, instead of acting as a hindrance to interaction with fellow walkers, can help to facilitate this 'through the shared bodily engagement with the environment [and] the shared rhythm of walking' (Lee & Ingold 2006: 79-80; see also Myers 2011).

Walking can result in a 'double awareness', firstly for perceiving the surroundings in more detail, as demonstrated above, and secondly by turning inwards 'to the realm of thoughts and the self' (Lee & Ingold 2006: 72). It is the latter to which the discussion now turns. When talking about walking, participants described how the movement of placing one foot in front of the other would allow their thoughts to wander:

> 'Or sort of going for walks with [my husband] I suppose but when we are walking together that's often when we have our best discussions about life or our plans for the future or solving our current problems or issues […] It's always I find, a very good way of erm talking through stuff is to, talk while you walk and [we] often seem to get much further, not just physically but I mean in terms of finding solutions or just coming to terms with things or seeing things in a more wholesome or constructive way,' (Freya, visitor, Applecross).

For Freya walking was not only a physical progression but a means for making mental progression. In this example, Freya also highlights that it may not be her own issues that she's dealing with but ones shared with her partner that together they are able to resolve, once again illustrating the sociability of walking. This demonstrates that landscapes can act as a means through which people can process situations and emotions. Lee & Ingold (2006: 71) have described this as 'thinking time' whereby people are able to escape the world, or at least the demands of the everyday. Attention of people becomes much more immediate to the demands that may be around them – such as the tree branches in the quotation at the beginning of this section or simply progressing to complete the walk – and so allows minds to be more reflective about personal issues that may be ongoing. Freya and Irene went on to discuss the 'meditative' qualities of walking that assisted in the ability to progress mentally with problems:

> **Freya:** […] when I'm walking on my own I find it kind of meditative there's a sort of way in which I'm much clearer about everything so possibly I suppose when you're doing it with other people I suppose it's like a joint meditation, although it's not kind of you know obviously you're, you are directing your thoughts and the topics of conversation and everything but possibly there is just a, it's like when I'm indoors, especially if I'm in a kinda messy place and it's very cluttered, I find I can't think straight, [being outside] really gives me a clarity and so maybe that's part of why when you're outside walking and talking with somebody else, you both possibly maybe have, because of the space around you, more space inside of you, so your thoughts are a bit clearer? Maybe, I don't know.
>
> **Irene:** I would agree with that, yep, yeah, I think the lack of clutter and things.

Here Freya and Irene both focus on the space that they feel they have that allows them the ability to work through a particular issue whilst walking. They associate more built up areas such as cities (Freya lives in a city in the UK) and being inside buildings with being filled with clutter. Being outside they felt they could put 'the clutter' to one side when they went walking and could create space inside themselves to better cope with situations or problems. Others similarly tried to articulate the physicality of walking and how the process of walking allowed them to create more mental space:

> '… it's all about the physical side of it as well as the sensory I guess, side of it erm … I was thinking about this when I knew I was going to be doing this walk actually erm, and I don't know if it's because it's important to me for

> my health to get out walking as well erm, I quite like the, I quite like the rhythm of walking, you know, just one foot after the other and you know, you're carrying on doing that and again it's that idea of clearing your head and just doing something that's repetitive but good for you and it kind of puts your mind onto slightly autopilot I guess because you can just take things in. Erm, it's not like, I've just done loads of driving over the last month or so and you're always having to pay attention and you can never totally relax and you're always thinking about where you're driving to or you're always thinking about how you're driving, you know is someone going to fly out in front of you, and you know you're always on, whereas this you know, as long as I don't go flat on my face by going over a rock then (laughs) it's err, there's not much that can go wrong erm, I can just switch off a little more easily erm, and enjoy,' (Ray, visitor, Assynt).

Ray, at the end of the quotation, makes similar arguments to Freya and Irene, namely that he feels he can 'switch off' when he is out walking. The repetitive rhythm of placing one foot in front of the other means he doesn't need to think about what is going on around him as he would have to do when driving. He instead relies on his other bodily senses to be aware and remarks that the worst thing that can happen to him – physically – is falling over.

The separation between the physical movement of the body and the thought processes in the mind whilst walking was something that a number of participants discussed, such as Jo (local resident, Assynt, original emphasis):

> '… this little walk which I do every single morning it's like erm, well not every single morning but more mornings than not erm, it's dead easy to, I mean, you don't need to think about where you put your feet, so you can watch what's going on and just wake up and listen.'

Jo, having done this walk so many times, no longer needs to think about where she's walking but can instead focus more on what is around her. Furthermore, as a creative writer, she focused on the rhythm of walking and the links she felt there were in allowing her thoughts to move along with her:

> '… walking is absolutely vital there's something about the physical rhythm of, of the body moving that erm, means that you erm, yeah [it] jerks words into your head and it's like if I've got a poem that is just sort of starting, very, very often I'll find poems just starting on a walk and there's just, a little phrase will kind of like bounce and then something about the rhythm

> of walking means that the words kind of, sort of, I don't know they kind of get jiggled out of the brain with the rhythm of walking and I mean there's lots of technical stuff about erm, you know the erm, poetic metre is actually described in terms of feet and things so there's, on some level you can understand that, that walking works for, as a way of generating poems but I think just in terms of, whether it's something as simple as oxygen into the brain or something, (laughs) it really helps […] I mean because we are, we are animals ultimately and so you've got to kind of get your body moving and all the senses are actually absorbing what's going on and then erm, a little bit of space gets created in the mind I think, without doubt.'

Jo, again, raises the notion of being able to create space in the mind through being outside walking. For many participants therefore walking in the landscape did not mean that they spent all their time looking out to the landscape. This seemed to happen but almost secondary to allowing and relying on their other senses to be more aware of where their body was going. There is a sense of a 'co-production' (Lee & Ingold 2006) between the landscape and the participant whereby both are moving. This occurs as the physical movement of the body, the placement of one foot in front of the other or the transient and rhythmical movements of the landscape created by the weather (as discussed in section 5.5.1) and sensed through the body. Consequently there is a blurring of the boundaries between body and landscape (*ibid.*). This in turn enabled participants to allow thoughts to move through their minds, or as Ray argued to 'switch off'. Francesca (visitor to Applecross) similarly described walking as more of a physical than a mental challenge:

> 'Yes. That's why I like walks because it is, again, the physical against the mental. It's a better challenge I think, sometimes. Mental challenges, sometimes, you can either do them or you can't, I suppose you can with physical challenges really, can't you, but mental seems to be a bit more. When your life is spent doing mental things, it's nice to be able to do something physical. Your overall wellbeing is much better achieved I think when you've done something physically than when you've done something mentally. You have achievements mentally but, to me, the challenge is being outside and to walk and to feel and to breathe, and see.'

For Francesca, walking allowed her to be more aware of her whole body and how the body worked, as she talked about it being a challenge to feel and to breathe, as well as

about what she was seeing. The landscape therefore is encountered bodily and understood not only by what is seen but what is being sensed more widely[79].

Leigh and Marissa (visitors, Applecross,) reflected, however, that due to the terrain of some walks, in practice, walking could result in their eyes being focussed primarily on their feet:

> **Leigh:** When you're walking, you look down at your feet more you actually don't really look up at the scenery.
>
> **Marissa:** It's taking the time to stop and look at the scenery 'ah ha'. And the one we did the other day was like that 'cos it was so rocky underfoot your face, your eyes were down all the time just watching where you were putting your feet … (stops at the side of the track waiting for car to pass) … but the wildlife's, you know, it's nice to look out for the local wildlife as well.

Their response to the rocky terrain was a need to look down at their feet to make sure that they didn't trip or fall. Consequently, their experience of the landscape was primarily looking down at where they were walking. Marissa therefore, argues that there is also a need to 'stop and look' so that they can appreciate being able to look out onto a view. Landscapes, though experienced in other ways, are still valued in terms of being able to be looked upon and appreciated aesthetically.

This section has demonstrated that the performance of walking can result in a more fully embodied understanding and experience of the landscape. It argues that eyes are part of the body even if traditional forms of 'landscape' operate as if there were an eye/body dualism (Ingold 2005; Wylie 2007). For many participants, walking allowed them to experience physical space and create mental space within their lives. Walking was not just individual though but often interactive with both human and non-human relationships. Wylie (2003: 155, original emphasis) has argued that underwriting experiences of landscape is the concept of dwelling that can be understood as 'the medium *through which* landscape performances are enabled and enacted.' Consequently, dwelling is not a product of personal experience but helps to produce landscape experiences by people being bodily and mentally immersed within it (*ibid.*). Through drawing on the concept of 'dwelling' it is possible to disrupt the tension

[79] The role of senses is discussed further in section 6.3.

between observation – landscape being looked at from a linear perspective – and habitation – being immersed within landscape – to an understanding of the everyday and lived landscapes that are simultaneously observed and habited. The following section now considers dwelling further alongside the role of working with(in) the landscape and the influence this has on relationships between people and landscape.

6.2.2 Working the land(scape)

In comparison to walking, working the landscape was spoken of predominantly by local resident participants. There were also visitors who owned a croft as a second home in the area and who also worked the landscape[80]. When talking about working the landscape there was a dominant discourse of a sense of knowing the landscape, or more specifically the 'land', more intimately than those who did not work the land. When discussing working and issues around management, including the crofting lifestyle, the term 'land' was often used as opposed to 'landscape'. Land was regarded as the material aspects of a landscape that was worked. Ingold (2000) uses the concept of 'taskscape' to distinguish the embodied working, practice and performance of landscape (see also Wylie 2006). He argues that 'taskscapes' are temporal, that they are experienced through 'muscular engagement' in the present but that they retain and have memories of past experiences (see also Jones & Garde-Hansen 2012). This section focusses on practical engagements with landscape through work rather than leisure activities.

Local residents who worked the land spoke of having a closer connection with the landscape. This was associated with experiencing and being-in-the-landscape on a daily basis through working it:

> 'Well, (cough), let me think about this, I think it's kind of good for your, I mean it's not kind of spiritual thing but I think personally I know I'm happier if I've spent some time you know outside either […] rather than just going walking I quite like you know digging, you know I've got a croft so that kind of erm you know close association with like say the food you grow or erm wildlife,' (Alexa, local resident, Applecross).

This 'association' that Alexa has with the land of her croft goes beyond just the immediate activity that she's doing to the fact that through managing the landscape she gains food to eat. She is also aware of her emotional reaction to working the land,

[80] This has also produced social and political tensions in relation to management in the areas which will be discussed further in chapters 7 and 8.

suggesting that she's happier knowing that she has been outside. The connection with food production was mentioned by a number of participants who worked the land, particularly if they owned a croft:

> '[…] I'm just thinking people who come up here and buy a holiday cottage and only come in the summer and are really surprised when a bit of the roof blows off in the winter, and possibly with modern living we're not quite so close to the real wildness of the landscape. I remember putting my potatoes in the first year, I love gardening and growing my vegetables, and putting my potatoes in the first year here and they got blight and thinking 'och well I can just go to Tescos,' and not thinking my family's going to starve, you know, so we're being wild but very safely most of us. Erm, I think for the people crofting and farming, it's a struggle to make a living out of crofting on its own, most people do other things as well. And yeah, I also shifted some enormous boulders in my garden to create enough space to grow things, and I was thinking if anybody came now and put me off this land, I think I'd kill them! You know, just the struggle, the struggle to actually survive, was hard. But not so much now, I mean we do have comforts, we have electricity and cars and yeah,' (Danielle, local resident, Assynt, original emphasis).

Danielle's description of working the land intersects with the past evolution of the landscape through the boulders that she removes (echoing the notion of the Clearances of hardship and removal) and her future aspirations to grow food. Lee (2007: 88) has argued that experiencing landscape through working in it emphasises 'an active present- and future-oriented engagement with the environment.' This is demonstrated within the quotation above, however, Danielle also highlights a connection with the past thus echoing the multiple trajectories of space discussed by Massey (2006; 2005). Understandings of time and history within landscape are therefore not linear. Furthermore, through these continuous and direct interactions people shape their surroundings. Similarly the surroundings can shape people:

> 'I used to say I know [case study area] better than any man alive erm, and that's partly because I've explored every nook and cranny, you know and, and being a diver I was able to go underwater as well, and a caver so I did the caves, led the mountain rescue team for a number of years, so I know the mountains, so yeah I used to say that I knew more of and better than any

> man alive, that's probably a bit cheeky to say, especially now there are other young people who are erm, far better,' (Ryan[81], local resident).

Ryan's direct interaction with the landscape through work made him feel he really knew the landscape. Similarly, Joe who worked in the landscape as a stalker valued the landscape more because it provided him with a job:

> '[…] as a deer stalker for over thirty years on this particular area of ground that we're looking at, at the moment I came to value the landscape, basically because it supplied me with a very good job over the years. And I like walking on the hills and I love stalking deer and working with the animals in general, 'cos we had a lot of deer ponies on the estate at that time as well and thankfully they're being brought back in now but for a while they went out a bit and they weren't using the deer ponies quiet so much, although on my beat I always used deer ponies anyway because they were the only thing that you could get to help you bring the deer off the hill when you'd shot them. So, for me it's a valuable asset […] and it really it's been part of my life as long as I can ever remember, I love the hills,' (Joe[82], local resident).

For Joe there is also an emotional response at the end of quotation where he declares that he loves the hills. Working the landscape entails everyday interactions and experiences of 'being-in-the-landscape' that transform how Ryan and Joe know landscapes. Landscapes are not only backdrops to where participants live on but are actively lived and worked in.

Pride in their environment was another emotion that local resident participants would speak of in relation to the crofts that they directly worked and managed, as Holly (local resident, Applecross) describes; 'that's our croft all behind the trees there (points towards a row of trees behind some fencing). And we planted every single tree! (laughs) Always proud of that when we see them there.' Julie further described the responsibilities people feel towards the countryside and the subsequent influence this might have on how landscapes are managed. Alongside this sense of pride and responsibility towards the land and the landscapes is a sense of the interdependency of the people who live and work in the landscapes and the landscapes themselves, as highlighted by the following quotation:

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[81] Due to the specific references to activities Ryan has been involved with in this past this would make it more possible for him to be identified, the name of the case study here has been removed to try and minimise this.

[82] The same approach to Ryan above was taken with Joe.

> ‘We are absolutely dependent on the land, more than anybody, well not anybody else in the UK but a lot of people. A lot of people in the UK erm, it doesn’t really matter what the landscape they live in [is] as long as they’ve got a job and a house and everything’s ok but here the landscape is everybody’s livelihood because that’s what brings the visitors and ninety per cent of people work at. So if it wasn’t for the landscape, there wouldn’t be any people here really. Well we wouldn’t because there wouldn’t be any visitors and if there was nothing else for people to do we wouldn’t be able to stay here. And in the old days it used to be crofting, I mean nobody ever made money from crofting they just, they just survived basically,’ (Rachel, local resident, Assynt).

Rachel in particular, was keen to stress the dependency of the local people on the land and landscapes in order to be able to live in the area, painting a picture for the research (Figure 6-1) of her cleaning a holiday home (her second job) but where she is looking out onto her favourite view. The landscape is not just a place where they can build a house but for a large proportion of the population their jobs are either directly or indirectly related to the landscape, Rachel specifically citing tourism and the draw of the landscape for tourists. It is through having these jobs Heather argues, that people are able to still live in the area and so if it wasn’t for the landscape they would not be able to sustain themselves.

So far the working interactions with the landscape have been primarily individual. The following extract also identifies the positive effects of working collectively outdoors:

> **Rebecca:** Oh yeah the community. Yeah I’d say that’s very important actually. I think again people working together outside is a good healthy thing and I think it, you know it kind of breeds good relationships if people are involved in projects together in the outdoors erm yep and aye.
>
> **Amy:** Why do you think that then?
>
> **Rebecca:** Ahh, yeah. It’s an interesting one, it’s something that I kind of, I definitely feel it and, and you know when we’ve done tree planting with children outside or, we’ll go down here, or erm you know even me helping the guys unload their pig food or sheep food or whatever erm now why is that a good thing? I don’t I, I’m not sure why, people working together outside – see only like fifty years ago when the sheep were being sheered you’d have everybody from the township all helping each other, you know, all working together erm and I think that it’s still, still there to a certain

Figure 6-1: Painting done by Rachel (local resident, Assynt) of her cleaning a fictitious holiday home looking out on to one of her favourite views of the mountains Suilven and Canisp. Rachel wanted to show that by being able to work in the landscape she is consequently able to stay and live in the area and enjoy the landscapes on a daily basis.

> extent but probably not to the level it was erm, and I think that's kinda good for people, I do think it's a good way for people to interact but why? Kind of a feeling thing isn't it.
>
> **Rosemary:** Hmm yeah my […] I think it's an interesting thing, I'm interested because I suppose I haven't worked so much outside with people here. When I'm working it's generally by myself but I do think it, erm just being outside and being, you know, working the land does sort of energise you in a very positive way. So I imagine that when you're working with other people outside you kinda get a kinda synergy around that where you kind of feed off each other's increased energy and positivity possibly.

As with the attitudes to being outside and walking, again Rosemary describes a physical and emotional benefit from being out and working the land. Both Rebecca and Rosemary relate this 'increased energy and positivity' from the land to the 'simplicity' of the lifestyle that they associate with working the land. They are dependent on their physical ability, the productivity of the land and the other physical processes – such as the weather – for that productivity to continue. Compared to other discourses around the experience of landscape, Rebecca and Rosemary suggest one that is more collective, where one not only creates synergies with the landscapes but also with the people within them. This challenges the dichotomy between nature/culture to produce an understanding of landscape that is more hybrid[83] (Whatmore 2002). This is further demonstrated in the following extract with two key informants from Assynt:

> **Pauline:** We worked last year, we started doing a job share last summer with the [countryside] rangers, the Highland Council Rangers and that's, that's really nice actually because it's a very positive job, because you're giving, you're taking folk out on guided walks that are coming here on holiday and having a good time, and they want to have a good time and they come here you know, with wonder in their eyes and it's great and it makes you feel really good […] 'Cos I mean, you know, everybody after a while, it's not that you don't see things but you know, you sometimes need to be reminded of it, don't you.
>
> **Melissa:** And it does remind you, as a ranger, it reminds you how wonderful it is to live here and really lucky.
>
> **Amy:** Do you think working outside changes your relationship with the outdoors?

[83] This will be discussed further in chapter 7.

> **Melissa:** Yeah definitely, yeah well it's kind of vital really, you understand it and how it works and all the different erm, yeah, the more, the more you know about it the more erm, you [are] kind of connected to it and can learn and teach other people about it as well. So it's vital really that you know what you're talking about and know the different seasons and what grows where and signs of erm, unusual things growing erm, yeah it fills out the whole picture as to where, what you're doing and things and you can never know everything, you know, so there's always room to learn a little bit more. Erm, just basically having an awareness of what's going on out here, you're not going to get that sitting in front of a computer and err, I suppose a lot of these outside jobs are very much computer based but I'm lucky in that I'm able to go out and err, involve other people with it and that helps get me out as well. A bit like being a ranger I guess.

Here, it is not only interactions with other workers that are considered but those with people who benefit from the work that is being done, in this case visitors who are going on guided walks. Pauline and Melissa identified that sometimes they needed to be reminded of where they were working and of the beauty of the landscape. This highlights that these landscapes, particularly for those that live in the areas, are everyday landscapes and because they are lived in they can be associated with the mundane and humdrum activities that are more often typically associated with urban living.

This section has explored the ways in which people experienced the landscape through walking and working. It has emphasised how participants spoke about their bodies and the responses of their bodies to being-in-the-landscape. Though using the concept of dwelling and inhabitation, these experiences of landscape are seen as being primarily mobile, helping to animate landscape (Lorimer 2006). Likewise, for many this was also connected to their emotions and had implications for their emotional well-being. The following section focuses specifically on other sensory experiences in the landscape that the participants discussed.

6.3 Experiencing the landscape through the body

Due to the majority of the interviews being conducted outside many other sensory aspects of the landscape were discussed, for example, the feeling of the rain or wind, noises (or a perceived lack of noise) or certain smells. Crouch (2003) and Wylie (2007) have argued that exploring mundane and habitual activities can express deeply felt senses of self and landscape. Furthermore, through engaging and exploring explicitly

with what are often seen as peripheral senses it is possible to create awareness for how people relate to landscape through a more tactile immersion (Crouch 2003; 2001; Wylie 2007) as the following quotation suggests:

> 'I just have a feeling of the atmosphere while I'm walking. So it's not, although I like the look of it it's not, it's hard to describe, I can't. My visual is all around me it's not just what you can see on a piece of paper, does that make sense? It's a smell, it's the wind, it's the heat, cold, it's, it's colours,' (Lorraine, visitor, Applecross).

Following the arguments of the previous chapter that illustrated the value placed on the visual landscape, Lorraine describes her senses as being part of her 'visual' which is 'all around'. For participants then, their experiences of landscapes are both visual and embodied. This echoes the work of Ingold (2006; 2005: 97) where the visual is something that is experienced and these experiences are multi-sensory where 'these sensory modalities cooperate so closely that it is impossible to disentangle their respective contributions.' This section will discuss the various ways in which participants discussed their tactile and sensory experiences, beginning with exploring the experiences of 'being outside' (section 6.3.1), followed by smells and sounds of landscapes (section 6.3.2).

6.3.1 'Being outside': feeling landscapes

Wylie (2007: 167) argues that the move to embodied approaches to landscape allows self and world to 'emerge and entwine'. Through the exploration of up-close engagements between participants and the landscapes there is a greater awareness of a more intimate and yet intense relationship that continues to emerge and re-form (Cloke & Jones 2001; Wylie 2007). Though value was placed on the visual aesthetics of landscapes, for many participants there was similar emphasis placed on being outside and experiencing them:

> 'I quite like erm having the sea and the mountains and woodland erm and although they look nice I think it is definitely for me it's like being in them, you know walking in them or working in them err, I just think it's quite nice being, makes you feel nice being outside,' (Una, local resident, Applecross).

As in the previous chapter, the quotation above highlights the variety within landscapes that is appreciated and enjoyed by the participant. Una, however, also stresses that they are for 'being in' and it is this that makes her 'feel nice'. There is a more sensuous

immersion within the landscape that for some participants was placed above the visual aspects of landscape (Wylie 2007). This immersion however is in conjunction with Una's visual approach, challenging the notion that observation is necessarily objective and detached. It is instead part of a greater, experiential whole.

Tilley & Bennett (2004) argue that experiences with landscape are always 'incomplete and ambiguous'. Consequently an experience within a landscape will never be the same twice and will develop as reflected in the following:

> 'I suppose for me when I first started here it was more, it was very much a visual experience, I mean to begin with erm, so in the beginning I didn't really go out if it was too windy […] But yeah you discover the landscape in another way if you're in it not just looking at it from the inside,' (Sybil, visitor, Applecross).

Sybil describes how her first encounters with the landscape in Applecross which she was visiting[84] were primarily visual. Sybil felt that the weather, in particular the windy weather, stopped her from wanting to go outside, so she would remain inside and look out. She goes on to discuss how spending more time in Applecross and being out in the landscape allowed her to discover more about the place, echoing the discussion in section 6.2.1 in relation to walking and a sense of discovery (Lee & Ingold 2006). Furthermore, during the interview Sybil reflected that being in the landscape challenged her relationship with the wind and how she responded to it:

> **Sybil:** I think it's been quite good for me to come because I had a huge problem with wind before, I really (laughs) where I lived … … I was a bit worried about that when I came but I quite like the wind now, yeah.
>
> **Edith:** You haven't experienced a wind yet! (Both Sybil and Amy laugh[85]) That little breeze last night!
>
> **Sybil:** I could lean against the wind.
>
> **Edith:** That's lovely, I love doing that.
>
> **Amy:** So why do you think you like the wind now, what's changed?

[84] Sybil was also working whilst in Applecross before starting further education in her home country. She was staying in Applecross for a couple of months. We arrived roughly the same time to Applecross.

[85] For a few days before this interview had taken place Applecross had experienced – to me – very strong winds, however Edith is a local resident and was saying sarcastically that both Sybil and I had not seen really strong winds in the area.

Sybil: I don't know! Yeah I think before, I get quite tired, it feels like my brain's blowing out of my head, it's not stuck.

Edith: It does make you tired the wind.

Sybil: But it's quite refreshing in one way that I haven't experienced before erm, yeah. I guess it's part of that openness that nothing, nothing stopping it … it's more of a constant flow, yeah. It feels quite erm, well refreshing in the sense that it's sort of cleans your mind, it's just, yeah, it erases everything and it lets you, allows you to start.

Sybil here suggests that being in the landscape was a refreshing experience. In particular, she raises a link between the flow of the wind 'cleaning' her mind and allowing 'you to start'. Sybil thus feels that through being outside in the landscape she gains both physical and mental benefit. This health benefit from being in landscapes was discussed by a number of participants and the following extract from the interview with Julian (visitor, Assynt), similarly articulates this, making specific reference to the importance of this for the 'soul':

Julian: I think it's important for the soul to find places like this where you can go and unwind and see nature.

Amy: In what way is it important do you think?

Julian: Erm, because it's so easy to get caught up in the rat race and live life for the, to make the money and erm, go-go-go, and erm, just get caught up in, in the day-to-day run of things which are erm, I suppose, modern life, I mean that's, that's how people get trapped in the vicious circle of being in the rat race and everything, erm, being stuck at work and whatnot, even, I was talking to some people in the erm, at the bar I work the other day and they were saying they'd been up here for 14 years and had never gone on the ferry across to Stornoway and things like that and yet, as soon as you get up and do something like that and you force yourself to do something it, sometimes you do have to force yourself in your downtime to actually go and do something active, why should you want to go and do something active in your downtime?! But it's amazing how refreshing it can be and just getting out and taking a walk or you know, even just a drive through somewhere where you've never been before, see the open spaces and things, it is very refreshing to the soul and reviving I think, you can sort of recharge your batteries and be renewed to get on with the job when you get back.

Such statements highlight that landscapes are not only consumed visually but also through the body, through being active within the landscape. Julian talks about forcing yourself to do something active. There is an exploration not only of the landscape but also a deep sense of self through an engagement with personal emotions and as Julian describes 'getting out' in the landscape (Crouch 2003; Wylie 2007)[86].

6.3.2 Smelling and hearing the landscape

> '… it's hard to put your finger on it I just love erm, I love the smell the feeling of being outside erm I spend quite a lot of time in my, in the office now and it's, it's, it's fairly dull habitat I, I feel more alive outside and err colours, textures it's hard to describe …' (Mick, local resident, Applecross).

The quotation above by Mick exemplifies the response of participants when trying to describe why they enjoyed 'being outside'. It was something that participants would reflect on but find difficult to articulate, talking about the different senses that they were using, such as the smells, as well as the visual stimulation that being outside provided. This echoes the discussion in the previous chapter that identified that vision is influenced by dwelling and inhabiting the landscape, that seeing the landscape was a fuller sensorial experience (Ingold 2006; 2005).

The following extended extract from the interview transcript with Frederick (local resident, Assynt), reflects on the influence of wind on the landscape and his senses:

> '[…] it's [a] very noticeable example this year, earlier on, in fact for the past 18 months we've had a lot of northern easterly winds which is unusual, we always get them but our prevailing winds are all from the south, south west, west from the Atlantic Ocean and so we had weeks and weeks of these north east winds and they make everybody quite jumpy, the animals don't like east winds either, they're a funny wind, erm, bringing different ions or something […] then when the wind switched to the west it was such a relief, the smell, you could smell the sea again, 'cos the wind was coming off the shore, onto the shore but to us. And it was just softer, it was smellier just like now you can smell the sea err, and that's really important to me erm, is the, is the smells and that sense of softness which the west wind gives you, I know it can produce the strongest winds erm, but they're no way as destructive as the east winds, the east winds tend to come through the mountains there and go in lumps and just cause havoc 'cos they catch

[86] This is explored further in section 6.5.

> things, part of which everything is just bent towards the east from the west because of the winds, so winds that are powerful coming the other way everything's stressed worse than ever because they can't bend out of it, you know I feel I'm like that even though I'm not bent in the same way, I just feel you know, I just feel I'm not designed to lean in to that wind you know, I've been, I've been, spent all my time leaning into the west wind but it's just such, although it can be more powerful in terms of sheer wind speed at some level it's a softer wind, it's a different wind. And although it can whip the sea up into some terrible, terrible storms in a way that the east wind can't obviously because it's coming off the land but when it's come all the way from America or half way across the Atlantic anyway, it's coming in here with some power and that can be very exciting too, just that roar through the trees, very exciting yes,' (Frederick, local resident, Assynt).

Frederick is highly descriptive about the winds, in particular highlighting how they've been different to what he says is normal for the area and also associating different smells and sounds within the landscape as a consequence of the wind. He describes not only the effect this has on the look of the landscape but also how it changes how people experience the landscape and generally altered the way people felt, claiming people to be more 'jumpy' until the wind changed direction and being able to smell the sea again was a 'relief'. Cloke & Jones (2001: 664) have similarly argued that a more sensuous experience emphasises 'how human actants are embedded in landscapes'. Such a narrative specifically highlights how entwined participants felt their own senses and emotions were with the landscape, not just with how it looked but other processes, such as the weather, atmospheric processes and seasonality, which make up the landscape. Similarly, the following quotation picks up on woodland smells on a walk:

> 'See how nice and mild it is in here. That's what I was saying I was hoping it was going to be sort of sheltered … (starts sniffing) See you get a lovely smell here don't you? That sort of mossy you know, some leafy sort of thing! Yes this is the start of my favourite bit … well I mean all these smells are just evocative of woodlands and you know being out and you know, look there's a lot of bird life in here, quite a lot of things chirping about,' (Andrew, local resident, Applecross).

Comparative to the previous quotation, Andrew highlights the mildness of the landscape and how woodland can make one feel more sheltered. For Andrew the closeness of the trees around the section of path that was his 'favourite bit'. It provided a milder atmosphere as it was more closed in as well as being a habitat for the birds which he in

particular enjoyed seeing and hearing. The presence of birds within the landscape was spoken of by a number of the participants, often picking out their calls as we walked along:

> 'Ahh I definitely just heard the plovers, there, just on the water's edge (stop and look) … They're not very common so you're quite, quite privileged to see them, lovely … (start to walk again),' (Kit, visitor, Assynt).

Kit had a more 'perceptual engagement' (Ingold 2000: 23) whilst walking through the landscape due to his interest in birds. Later on in the same walk we stopped again after hearing the call of a cuckoo, after which Kit then thanked me for asking him to take part in the research as it was his first cuckoo of the year. For Kit having the opportunity to be in these landscapes and to witness and hear the birds within them makes him feel privileged and so more connected with it. There is, therefore, not only a perceptive or sensorial experience but one which is entangled with emotion. The following section explores these emotional aspects further.

6.4 'It'll go with you to the grave': emotional landscapes

The previous chapter discussed the emotional way in which participants described landscapes. This section takes this discussion further highlighting a more spatial and temporal exploration of emotions and landscape (Jones 2011a) through the ways in which the participants spoke about how they felt they belonged to the landscape:

> 'It's just who you are. It's like a fisherman and the sea, it's *their* environment, they're in their home territory, on the sea, the open sea. It's like us, when we're on the land we're in our environment, you never take that out of a person I don't think, it'll go with you to the grave,' (Dennis, local resident, Assynt, emphasis in original).

For Dennis through living in the landscape, it becomes part of who you are and something that is never taken away. The landscape has a temporality through its inhabitants, their past, present and future which, Dennis argues, is taken with them to their grave. There is a recognition of how emotions and emotional ties help to construct and interpret the landscape (Jones 2005). Dennis was a local resident who was born and grown up in the area. Exploring emotions, therefore could provide insights into how different inhabitants – recent local residents and visitors – respond to the landscape and what implications these similarities and differences have.

The aim of this section is to highlight the ways in which people and landscapes are entwined through the personal lived memories that they have, beginning with notions of belonging (section 6.4.1) before focussing on memories (section 6.4.2). Jones (2011a; 2005) has argued that memories can mobilise landscape, within the minds-eye a landscape can come alive by a memory that is held in relation to it, yet simultaneously this influences and changes people.

6.4.1 'This is mine': belonging to the landscape

Notions around belonging to the landscape (and 'the place' of Applecross or Assynt) were discussed by a number of participants in relation to the case study areas such as in the quotation above by Dennis. There are distinctions between how people expressed this belonging depending on whether they were local residents or visitors to the areas. For example, similar to Dennis, the following quotation from a local resident has a strong sense of belonging:

> 'It's lovely and quiet isn't it, it's just, I really like you know, you're talking about landscape, this is mine (laughs),' (Eric, local resident, Applecross).

Belonging here is twofold with Eric feeling he belonged to the landscape but also the landscape belonged to him. They were entwined. Jones (2005: 207) argues that emotions challenge knowledge as being 'rational and [an] objective construct.' Eric perceived through his emotions that the landscape was his. Yet this is challenged in practice with Applecross being owned (legally) as a charitable trust. Such emotional ties with the landscape (including that of Dennis above) and the ownership of land is tied up with both past and present social issues around ownership and will be explored further in chapter 8.

In contrast, the following extract from the interview with Tessa and Anthony (visitors, Applecross, original emphasis) highlights how they perceived their own relationship with the area:

> **Tessa:** Erm, but it is special – one, one of the, I said to you about err my dad's ashes erm he was a 'wanderer' he liked to erm visit, visited most err of the five continents. Erm, and he was a hill walker.
>
> **Anthony:** Especially after he retired he did a lot of hill walking.

> **Tessa:** He really got back into it and, and into the hills at that point […] But he and another group used to hire a cottage down at Attadale, the other side, and erm they would come and they would leap up and down all these different mountains! And he liked Applecross we know that erm and knew, when we were talking about Applecross he knew what we were talking about so we just felt this would be one place to scatter his ashes. So err, we plan to do that round at Sand erm and that would, that would be absolutely hunky dorey with him, he would be delighted with that. And my brother was delighted with that too. So it's just, feeds into the, the whole atmosphere of the place that it's …
>
> **Anthony:** There's a family connection there … Like a permanent connection 'cos his ashes are there which is nice.
>
> **Tessa:** Yeah.
>
> **Amy:** So do you think that will change how you feel about the place?
>
> **Tessa:** I don't really think so, I think that it was already embedded in us you know before this happened erm.
>
> **Anthony:** It was always the sense of loyalty to the place, liking it, admiring a lot of its virtues and they'll still be there err it will just be a, a little added remembrance, I think that's probably the only difference.

For Anthony and Tessa, this relationship to the place is strongly influenced by the scattering of Tessa's father's ashes. Yet they felt the area was already 'embedded' within them. It is a sense of loyalty to the place because they have revisited the place so many times that Anthony reflected on:

> '[…] it's when you go anywhere on holiday and you go back to the same place and people recognise you, you're not part of the community but, but you're maybe a satellite member (laughs) of the community. And, and that sense of belonging appeals to us, that's nice. Even if it's a very detached belonging, it still is lovely to come back and say hello to people who are happy to chat with you and who remember you from before. So this, Tessa's dad's ashes is another dimension of that.'

For Anthony it is returning to Applecross continually that makes him feel a connection, though he is acutely aware that he is not 'part of the community' but feels he could be considered a 'satellite member' because he is known and can be recognised by some of

the local residents. This feeling of loyalty to the area was one that I heard in both case study areas by local residents and visitors alike.

6.4.2 'I remember when…': recollections and memories of landscape experiences

Jones (2011a) has argued that memory has been overlooked within writings of non-representational work and regarded as a burden of the past. Instead, Jones argues, memory is 'fundamental to becoming, and a key wellspring of agency, practice/habit, creativity and imagination' (*ibid.*: 875-876). Throughout the chapter are references to memories that have informed how participants came to know and understand the landscape. This is also illustrated in Figure 6-2 where Martine talks of the excitement that she felt whilst on a walk and wished to reflect in her pastel drawing. Often whilst on the walk there would be something that prompted a memory for the participants, whether it was a particular location along the river where they had taken their children, a smell that reminded them of their own childhood, a particular flower. Roberts (2012: 94) has argued that through the storying of memories the meaning of place can be produced. This was particularly strong within the narratives of the participants when discussing particular landscapes, as, for example, in the following:

> '[…]this slab of black rock is Easan Dubh, little black waterfall and this was the sort of psychological or meta-physical boundary to the township for my granny. When she was a kid she said this was haunted, that's what her and her sisters and playmates were told so they would never come past here and I guess the idea was to keep them, because if you look as far as you can see in the straight strip of road, granny's house was just on the right there, so within more or less shouting distance to the house they wouldn't stray outside the confines of what their parents thought were comfortable so this slab of black rock was my granny's babysitter, that's what she described it. So erm, to me this place is alive with memories,' (Vincent, local resident, Applecross).

Vincent here is recollecting not his own childhood memory but that of his grandmother. This past for Vincent, however, allowed the present landscape to feel alive. There is a twisting of chronology through his memories and emotional attachment within the landscape challenging notions of static landscapes but instead suggesting for him they are always in a state of flux and becoming (Jones 2005). Vincent's landscape is both lived and personal. Other participants' memories within the landscapes similarly

‘… it has a certain excitement, I remember when I, I walked along that path first time and I took a photograph of that and I was with a friend and when I came back and he’s gone home erm, I couldn’t wait to get on and do some you know with pastel and I was so excited, the purple shadows, oh I couldn’t wait it was so exciting, that was, I mean it’s probably technically not that good but I love it, it’s my favourite painting and that stone, it does my head in! You know I wouldn’t do it like that now but I get so excited with the views, particularly the mountains, I do get excited.’

Figure 6-2: ‘The path to Suilven’, by Martine (visitor, Assynt).

highlighted the lived and personal experiences people associated with them. Figure 6-3 is a painting provided by Jasmine who raised her children in Applecross. She pointed out an area where her children would often play and recollected the marsh marigolds that grew during the spring.

The following quotation is of a story I was told during a walk with Drew (local resident, Applecross) whereby a sense of smell took the person back to being outside in the landscape:

> 'Yes I would hate to be, not out and about mm … but then who knows what is around the corner … … Well you can always, that's a good thing about it, you can always have erm, it's always good to have experiences and like I was saying going on our walking holidays, you've always got these memories and you see that's one thing you have, so even if you're sitting in the old folks home and you can't do anything, you know, erm, […] this guy, and he's in this old folks home and he's got a bunch of erm, he's in erm, he has his last couple of days, it's a fishing story of course, but he's err, he's got a bunch of err, bog myrtle in the jar beside the side of his bed. See although he can't get out and he can't see, that's you know something that triggers his memories, he said he can just sit there and let them talk more, you know.'

For Drew, reactivating the senses – in this case the smell of bog myrtle – allows people to go outside again, even if they are no longer able physically to go outside. Jones (2005: 205-206) argues that memory has the ability to mobilise the landscape, that it helps us to 'make sense of/practice the world'. The following memory illustrates how past experience and memory can inform present and future experiences of landscape and what becomes valued:

> 'Freedom, another aspect, erm, and I like, I'm not very good at birds and wildflowers, my dad was very good at birds and I wish I'd listened to him more but erm, just seeing, what wildlife and, I remember sitting on top of Quinag, watching a pair of eagles, down below me and the male was displaying to the female and he was sort of going into these suicidal dives and pulling out of them and then up again, diving again and up, and the female was just kind of circling around going 'oh, boys will be boys,' (laughs) not impressed! But I loved it, you know it's, it's these kind of things … getting away from civilisation … everything, just the smells and the sounds,' (Josephine, local resident, Assynt).

'[…] like yes, native sort of, native trees and, and well you know hundreds of years old, there's. And they think this, this err hazel here has been used to some extent for, for working with, erm, coppiced to a certain extent and erm and you know hazel's grown for, for food, in the days when food was difficult to come by. So it's of a historical value as well as erm botanical value. Don't know how much longer it will survive, this is, this wee corner here is lovely, the kids have built a den here but in the spring time this is just covered in primroses. It's a great, great place for the kids to play, quite often up here. The kids in Applecross spend a lot of time outside their room and you can, the, the, they're just allowed to wander around, they're not kind of, erm, you know it's just assumed they'll be alright!'

Figure 6-3: 'Marsh marigolds' a painting provided by Jasmine (local resident, Applecross) along with a quotation taken from the interview where she associates an area that we walk through where her children used to play.

The memory that Josephine has is embedded in sensuous immersion within the landscape and what she was witnessing with the birds. It is through an immersion in nature that Josephine is able to experience a sense of 'freedom'. Josephine also mentions, however, 'getting away from civilisation' making a distinction between nature and culture. So despite a sense of immersion within the landscape there is an element of detachment of people – or at least most people – from being part of the landscape and so not being fully immersed, a tension between 'nature' and 'culture'[87].

The walks also prompted memories of other places that held some significance for participants. Though not related to the case study area these memories discussed below similarly highlight how the participant emotionally responded to the landscape:

> '… when I used to go over to mum's […] there's a bit of road and you can see the hills on top, so the farm fields and everything, and there was one particular tree and to me it was a perfect shape and it didn't matter if it was winter or summer, whether there was leaves or not, if it was, if there was no leaves it was still a perfect round shape but of course when the leaves got on it just softened it a bit but it was still, it was the same shape and I found I was looking for it, it was like, it was almost like a talisman, 'oh yes it's still there, oh good. Has it changed shape? No it hasn't.' And it was so nice and it was all on its own because I was high up obviously and not that much grew, and it really stood out and it was really lovely […] there was just something about it that was so perfect, which was lovely,' (Flora, visitor, Assynt).

For Flora, seeing this tree whilst on the journey to her mum's provided something that she could rely on, acting as a 'talisman' for her. The tree was something that Flora could depend on, including the changes that it went through with the seasons, despite having to deal with personal situations that were causing changes to her everyday life. Similarly in the extract below, Miranda (visitor, Assynt) reflects on when she originally moved[88] to the area and a rock became her 'emotional rock':

> **Miranda:** […] my bit's down here. Now this place, when I first moved here I was having, my marriage was breaking up and I was having a really bad time and erm, like I say I didn't really know anybody here […] everyone was really friendly but I hadn't made good friends yet, so after work I used

[87] These narratives of 'nature' and 'culture' will be discussed further in chapter 7 in relation to landscape management.

[88] Miranda no longer lives in Assynt permanently but returns for extended periods of time during the year.

> to just come here and sit on this rock and it was really great, it was like a healing place erm, yeah 'cos it's so beautiful and I used to just sit there and look out to sea and occasionally if it was a really nice night I would take some food or even some, erm, a glass of wine or something and sit there and yeah you'd watch otters and seals and the birds and I took photos and did sketches you know and it was great […] This is my rock (holds hands open in front of the 'rock') and it's my rock (laughs).
>
> **Amy:** It's been claimed!
>
> **Miranda:** Absolutely. […] Lot more [sea]weed than usual, that's with the wind and gales … bear in mind this is really somewhere to come in the summer rather than the winter … (climb up to the top) so this is it, if it's really hot and it hasn't rained you can sit on the rock erm, if the grass is dry you can sit on the grass or the heather, and I've slept here, not all night but you know I've napped here erm, yeah I've eaten here, I've cried here, I've been happy here, it's an emotional rock (laughs) […] I know it's just a rock but it's the connotations and the fact that it's shared a lot with me this rock so.

Miranda to a certain extent shared her emotions with the rock and it became embedded with her memories and history and so she claimed it as 'hers'. It was somewhere that she could keep returning to and so provided a sense of stability. She comments that it 'is just a rock' but then simultaneously recognises that it is embedded with connotations of the past when she has been at the rock – experiences both positive and negative. Jones (2011a) identifies that memories are both spatial and temporal and so can in turn effect how they are experienced in the future.

All of these memories are focussed around specific locales within the case study areas. They recount the memories of 'being-in-place' and are inherently spatial (Jones 2005; 2011a) and continue to influence how these locales are experienced by the participants. For many these specific locales maintain for the participants the same emotions and feelings as the first time they went there. The following section broadens this further by exploring how participants spoke emotionally about the case study areas as a whole.

6.5 'That sense of just being with it': therapeutic landscapes

Conradson (2005: 103) argues that 'environmental encounters' can move people emotionally, allowing them to think and feel differently. Such encounters, furthermore, can put people into contact with different rhythms of life and consequently 'obtain

distance from everyday routines, whilst perhaps also experiencing renewed energy and finding different perspectives' (*ibid.*). Being-in landscapes can, therefore, enhance personal well-being. The previous section focussed specifically on emotional encounters with the landscapes and the transformational effect this had on how people come to 'know' landscapes and their relationships with them. This section takes this discussion further using the concept of 'stillness' and 'therapeutic landscapes' whereby 'a person becomes more aware of their immediate, embodied experience … and less concerned with events occurring 'out there',' (Conradson 2007: 33).

As the title of this section suggests, participants described a 'sense of just being with it', describing a closeness that can be felt when spending time in landscapes. The full quotation highlights a personal, emotional encounter with the particular landscape:

> *[Jamie and I are sitting outside after walking part of the perimeter of his croft. We are close to the lochside and across from us we can see a peninsula. We can hear the noises of seals just out of eyesight where they are basking on rocks and moving around in the water.]*
>
> 'I just take it for what it is, you know […] and accept it as it is and though I do have great wonder it's very much in the awe sense not an investigative sense, I don't investigate the phenomenon at all, I really do just, just that sense of awe and wonder and just, and again, a sense of privilege that I'm not only able to be here to experience it but to actually appreciate the fact that I'm experiencing it and that in itself is another privilege I think, erm, and it means a lot to me, just to, be able to be in it and, and I'm sure the seals are not challenging it, investigating it, they're just doing it you know and I try to get as close to that sense of just being with it, part of it, erm, as I can. So yeah I might just sort of say, 'gosh look at that, I wonder why that's happening,' but I just wonder I don't, I don't go and get a text book or anything like that at all, I'm just happy to, to enjoy it for what it is which is a sensation that's happening to me on the back of that, you know, the visual sensation, the smell, the sound, the feel of the wind, whatever. For me it just, it just is and I am and err, that's enough for me,' (Jamie, local resident, Assynt).

Jamie describes a relationship between his self, the material landscape and non-human actants within the landscape – particularly the seals. Research around the therapeutic nature of certain landscapes often explores an entanglement between body-mind-landscape in a way that is both emotional and physical. Lea (2008) calls for 'nature' to

have a role as a performative actor within a therapeutic relationship between an individual and a place[89]. Within western culture there is a tradition of valuing particular landscapes – including mountainous and coastal areas – as being therapeutic (Conradson 2005). This research, however, poses a potential challenge to the concept as despite the landscapes being protected for their aesthetic qualities they are also 'everyday landscapes' for the local residents. There is a need for a more nuanced exploration of how these both everyday and also nationally recognised and designated landscapes can have a therapeutic nature for those who inhabit them. The section begins by exploring landscapes as sanctuary followed by discussions on space, peace and wildness.

For some particular landscapes can act as a conduit for therapy. Conradson (2005: 338) has argued that therapeutic experiences are relational and something 'that emerge[…] through a complex set of transactions between a person and their broader socio-environmental setting.' Reflecting this, some participants spoke of certain landscapes as being a 'place of serenity' (George, visitor, Assynt) or a 'sanctuary' for them from everyday life as shown in the following excerpt from Emma (local resident, Assynt, original emphasis):

> **Emma:** […] that's my wee sanctuary spot down there.
>
> **Amy:** Oh right, why?
>
> **Emma:** Because it's got a wee, see the wee wall that's kind of built out for the fishermen, the fishing beat down there. So I used to come down here when I was working split shifts at the Culag (hotel), been doing chamber-maiding in the morning and waitressing at night, so I'd just come here with the dog and dip my feet into the water and just sit there. One of the best feeling [sic] in the world, I keep telling people about this but it really is, it's one of my top ten lists of things to do ever, is to dip my feet into some water and then without drying them off put your shoes and socks back on again, *it feels amazing*! […] Warmth and cosyness, little bit of security. It's like when you come out of a bath and you go into a warm room with clean sheets on your bed, that kind of a feeling.

[89] Lea's (2008) work is specific to retreats and the experiences of being on a yoga and massage retreat in southern Spain. See also Muirhead (2011) for an example of the therapeutic nature of conservation volunteering on social and personal well-being.

Being in this particular landscape provided a removal from the work that she had done and also provides her with a sense of 'security'. Emma's relationship with this landscape was an embodied, intimate and immersive one. It echoes what Conradson (2007: 33) terms 'stillness', where an embodied experience 'may encompass an enhanced clarity of thought, or act as new modalities of feeling.' Emma, therefore, was taking herself away from her work environment to a landscape where she felt able to sit and be there. Similar to when participants would describe the look of the landscape and attach descriptions such as 'beautiful' or 'awe-inspiring', participants would describe their experiences of being outside with words such as 'cosy', 'freedom', openness' and 'excitement'. Such language suggests that they not only felt the experience through the body but also more emotionally. Morgana (visitor, Applecross) describes the landscape on the walk that we're doing: 'See I love that view looking down over, you know you've got the mountains and the hills of Skye and that, it's just lovely and then the sound of the river, nice and peaceful.' There is a sense of peace associated with the sound of the river, in particular, a strong emotion that participants would often describe and attribute to the landscape as seen again in the following quotation:

> 'But you see there's a peacefulness about it in here, this bit as we come up to the, this bit just over here. I always notice it, a few years ago and the leaves were all off the trees you know there was hardly a leaf left on any of the trees, all gone, and we came down here and, it was probably the beginning of November, I think it was and it's hard to believe but the hazel, the leaves were actually still green, and it's just because they'd been protected and sheltered and you just thought 'oh look at that!' You're snug in here from the wind,' (Charles, local resident, Applecross).

The trees within the landscape provided shelter from the weather and so made Charles feel 'snug' when he was below them. Throughout these quotations there is an element of removal from the everyday and experiencing participants' immediate embodied surroundings, whether they are local residents or visitors. All associate the landscapes with a stronger presence of 'nature' that enhances engagements with the wider landscape and their selves (Lea 2008). There is the creation, however, of a dichotomy between 'nature' and 'culture' where there is a sense of removal from a more 'social life' which I will return to at the end of this section.

For some participants it was the thought of the landscape that they believed allowed them to recover from an illness, as the following extract from Matilda (local resident, Assynt) highlights:

> **Matilda:** I think it kept me alive the love for this place when I was sick … the longing to get back home and I knew once I'd got out of hospital and when I came home I could get better. I had leukaemia four years ago and they didn't know if I was going to get through the chemo and then I relapsed last year but I'm ok now (laughs). It might relapse again, you've just got to make the most of your life make every day count I suppose and it was you know, I was, the first time I was in hospital for weeks and it was terrible it was really, I mean the treatment itself is absolutely vile and the things that it does to your body and I just knew that once I got back here, I would start to get better.
>
> **Amy:** And did you feel that happen?
>
> **Matilda:** Yes, yeah. After the treatment was finished and I started to go out for walks again, I had to pace myself you know, I'd just go ten minutes up the road and back and then one day I knew that if I'd got to the lighthouse and back home again, which is just under six miles, I was ok […] and I really do think it was wanting to be back here and to go to Dunan[90] point as well, that was my first target, I wanted to get to Dunan point.
>
> **Amy:** Why was that?
>
> **Matilda:** Because I have a very strong belief in God and I always say a prayer when I go up there, I always have a little word and err, I'm not saying it keeps you alive but it makes the going easier (laughs)! Perhaps put it like that erm, but there was some kind of erm, structure up there at one time and I think it's down as a Pictish site as well, but even before you know that you just can't help but realise it's a really special place, especially when you can see over the sea (laughs).

Matilda went on further, arguing that being in Assynt, and in particular the landscape she describes above, allowed her to bring herself together again due to the cancer causing her to feel that she lost sight of herself. This place continued to hold a strong emotional and spiritual attachment for Matilda and described it as a place from which she felt she could gain strength. Similarly, in relation to bereavement, the landscape was described as having a 'rescuing effect' for one participant:

[90] Also known as Rubh 'an Dùnain in Gaelic.

> ‘I’m besotted with the place and I think it’s partly the art because I, my husband died in 2000 and we came up here in 2003 for the first time renting it and I was erm, able to start painting again so it had erm, it had a rescuing effect on me in my bereavement erm, so that was good but you know now I just come up here ‘cos I just like it,’ (Joan, visitor, Assynt).

For both Matilda and Joan there is a connection between themselves and the landscape, drawing on the physicality of the landscape to help support them both physically and emotionally. There is a ‘connective imaginary’ between them and the landscape in which they were immersed resulting in a deeper therapeutic experience (Lea 2008: 95). In contrast some participants reflected on the links between physical and emotional well-being and being-in-the-landscape in a more day-to-day sense:

> ‘I think walking is, it’s vital to sort of wellbeing and mental health and physical wellbeing it’s all connected and the sort of opportunity to going into a place and not meeting anyone else, going up a mountain, erm, I think it feels … it’s really important for humans to be able to do that sometimes and I’m not saying there shouldn’t be other people there too, they can be, but just being able to walk off and erm, I think walking as a pastime sport is one of the, it’s the one of the most popular sports there is and it’s probably totally underrated because people don’t pay to do it, they just do it and so it’s vital I think to health and wellbeing and feeling good, you know, gives you confidence, gets rid of all your erm, bad emotions, generally promotes good feeling and erm, I think I suppose personally erm … I suppose I enjoy personally feeling fit and pushing the boundaries a little bit of fitness and that satisfaction of going places but I know not everyone walks, you don’t have to go up a mountain to get that, you can just walk in the woods like this. So erm, yeah it kind of frees everything up a little bit and err, you can use the outside too, I think a lot of people don’t realise that you know, when they’re feeling bad, you don’t need to sit in front of the television and eat another biscuit you can feel better by just going out there and, and err, sort of getting over and out the other end with your mood or whatever it is that’s bad, so it’s a very positive thing, that you can do,’ (Erin, local resident, Assynt).

This echoes the discussion within section 6.2.1 that moving through the landscape when walking can also allow more emotional situations to be resolved by ‘getting over and out the other end.’ Walking therefore provides a level of insulation from other demands and allows people to reposition themselves away from where demands may be placing pressures on them (Conradson 2007).

For some participants the combination of the remoteness of the landscape, the low population and a perceived stronger presence of nature contribute to what they value about the landscape:

> ‘I’ve always liked to have the landscape all to myself, erm, that’s what it means to me, yeah to be on your own in nature, that’s the whole idea of a walk for me, so when you go down to the Yorkshire Dales and you just see this kind of procession of brightly coloured cagoules in front of you, that’s not a walk, that’s something else, that’s exercise or something, it’s not a real walk. So that’s why this place is so special and unique and […] I travel all over the world and I never find that thing anywhere else, that’s why I keep coming back, erm, yeah it’s precious. The fact that you can actually stand on top of a mountain and look out on this ancient land, as far as the eye can see and you don’t see any house, you don’t see any road, you don’t see any person, you know that’s, that means everything,’ (Joanna, visitor, Assynt).

Joanna emphasises a distinction between ‘nature’ and ‘people’. For her she places greater value on being able to stand at the top of a mountain and not see any evidence of human habitation. Whatmore (2002: 9) argues that present understandings of the ‘wild’ places ‘creatures and spaces so called outside the compass of human society … a pristine exterior.’ There are parallels between Whatmore’s description of ‘wild’ and Joanna’s ‘view’ from the mountain. Yet the landscape of Assynt is one that is and has been managed by humans for centuries. This raises a number of questions about the role of people and culture within ‘nature’ and ‘landscape’. The following quotation similarly uses the term ‘wilderness’ in relation to the experience of landscape:

> ‘[…] ‘cos it’s a wilderness, I think, there’s always beauty in nature, no matter what form it takes, ‘cos I’m the crazy kind of person that when there’s a gale around I’m outside with a jacket above my head going ‘weee!’ and everyone else is inside going (voice goes lower and slower and drawls) ‘oh no I hate this weather.’ I just think, well move then, if that’s the way you’re going to be, it’s only weather, put a waterproof on. Don’t get me wrong I do love the sunshine, it has an amazing effect on people, they’re just instantly happy,’ (Lucille, local resident, Assynt).

Lucille’s description of her experience within the landscape is highly embodied but also influenced by the broader processes of the weather. She particularly highlights that she feels there is beauty in all forms of nature and refers to landscape being a ‘wilderness’. Yet Lucille’s landscape is one that does include people (including herself) and

interaction with the landscape. The following chapter will discuss this separation further and how a more 'hybrid' understanding could help to challenge current understandings of 'landscape' and 'landscape management'.

6.6 Conclusions

It was the aim of this chapter to bring into focus a more embodied and performative understanding of landscape. This began with discussions around 'being outside' and the importance placed by participants on not just what they were seeing with their eyes but how their bodies responded both physically and emotionally to practicing the landscape through walking and working the landscape.

This was then followed by focussing more specifically on the senses and how participants were aware of not only what they were seeing but what they were hearing and smelling whilst out in the landscape, building on the previous chapter's discussion on the 'more-than-visual'. Acknowledging the senses other than sight emphasised the awareness that participants had a more immersive experience of being-in-the-landscape. It likewise highlighted that observing the landscape is less likely to be objective but is rather part of a much wider multi-sensory experience. There is an interactive meshwork between people and the landscape that challenges a more static view of landscape to one that is always becoming.

This was taken further by exploring the ways in which participants felt more emotionally connected to the landscape and the concept of 'therapeutic landscapes'. Emotions and memories, in particular, highlighted the temporality that individuals can bring to the 'meshwork' of people and landscape. They informed how participants constructed and came to know landscapes. Landscapes are no longer something disembodied, distant and objective but embodied, proximate and highly subjective. Furthermore they are lived and made personal by the memories that people have. The section on therapeutic landscapes identified the influence that the landscapes had on participants' emotional and physical well-being drawing on the landscape to help them through difficult emotional and health problems. Yet despite this, they also identified a separation between people and 'nature'. 'Nature' and 'natural landscapes' – though regarded in a positive sense – were perceived to be something outside of 'civilisation' and so separate from 'culture'. The following chapter takes this discussion further exploring these challenges in relation to landscape management.

High Tide at Ardubh

There … it's just broken over the gap-stone, its oily skin, speckled by broken weed swells and falls, swells and swirls … and falls. Yes, as the sun breaks the top of the hill it's still rising.

Two ducks, standing by, are looking at me in their one-sided way and I'm held here fascinated by the thought of sea on snow and who will win … and when will the battle begin. Or is it a love affair, where one melts into the other's arms?

The sun has joined in now, throwing its reflection onto the water … a spear of light aimed directly at me. I want to move, to go and find my sandbags, to take a photo and feel the perfect snow crisp against my boots, but I'm stuck here, between the tide clock and the tide … a spectator.

Outside the beauty of the snow is tempered by that hollow thump of sea invading rock … it's then you know its strength. Seal Rock's completely gone … an abandoned orange buoy bobs by to wish me luck.

The whole house filled with sun-bathed ripples … ceilings, walls and … me.

Creative writing piece by Gloria (local resident, Applecross).

7 Landscape management from a 'cultural' perspective

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapters specifically focussed on 'more-than-visual' encounters with landscapes. Together they highlighted the multiple ways in which people have come to know the landscape through all bodily senses, experiences, emotions and memories. They particularly focussed on a 'dwelling' perspective and how everyday encounters informs understandings of 'landscape' (Ingold 2000). Rose & Wylie (2006: 477) argue there is a dynamic relationship people have with the concept of 'landscape', 'being 'of', 'in' and 'on' the world all at the same time.' A dwelling perspective can thus highlight a complex relationship between people and landscape through 'being-in-the-landscape'. The role of 'taskscape' (Ingold 2000) was introduced in chapter 6 to highlight the different ways in which landscapes can be dwelt in. This relationship, however, has been primarily explored on an individual level. This chapter, along with chapter 8 will explore more collective and shared values in relation to landscape management, a form of abstract, and often very practical, 'taskscape' where the relationship between people and landscape can be both direct and indirect. It will draw on the previous two chapters more conceptual discussions of 'more-than-visual' and embodied landscapes, alongside the tension of nature/culture and culture/spectacle to explore potential drivers and motivations that may influence how participants identified key landscape management issues. In so doing, the chapter will tackle research objective two:

> *To identify key landscape management issues within the two case study areas and explore them from a more hybrid perspective, focussing, in particular, on cultural values to identify the potential and challenges of such an approach.*

Exploring the relationship between people and landscape in relation to landscape management in particular highlights the tension between 'culture' and 'nature'. The European Landscape Convention (ELC), outlined in section 3.2.1, in particular, calls for a greater incorporation of culture and cultural heritage alongside awareness for the ecological processes of the landscape. Yet as further identified there is a lack of tools through which to achieve this and, therefore, much harder to achieve in practice (Conrad *et al.* 2011; Olwig 2007). Wylie (2007: 9) argues '[p]erhaps more than any other, the couplet culture/nature signals the tensions at work within the concept of landscape'. To continue the arguments of the previous chapters about 'landscape' being

in flux and ‘becoming’ it takes the perspective that ‘landscapes are viewed as being constantly *in production*’ (Wylie 2007: 106, original emphasis). Furthermore, it aims to identify a more hybrid approach to the two concepts of ‘nature’ and ‘culture’ (Whatmore 2002).

Chapter 2 identified the different conceptual discourses and definitions of ‘nature’, in particular, highlighting the challenge within academic literature, that ‘nature’ is a social construction (Demeritt 2002; Jerolmack 2012). Such an approach suggests that ‘nature’ in and of itself is only understood from a social and cultural perspective and does not have agency. Yet as identified in chapter 5 and 6, participants of this study actively engaged with the materiality of the landscape informing their encounters and experiences with it, suggesting a much more interlinked and mesh-worked relationship between people, landscape and nature (Ingold 2006). Mackenzie (2010) citing MacPhail (2006) argues for ‘culture’ to be understood as flowing, terming it ‘the carrying stream’. MacPhail emphasises that stories, songs and traditions which make up a culture are passed on through different generations. These do not, however, remain the same but are ‘reworked, reformed and reinvented in each generation and in each community across time and space’ (MacPhail 2006: 11). This echoes the discussions in previous chapters in relation to the temporality and practice of ‘landscape’ as being a more fluid concept. Yet ‘culture’ is often associated with history and cultural heritage and thus can create tensions around culture as ‘spectacle’ where it is dominated by the ‘tourist imagination and the logic of capitalism’ and lived ‘social practices’ within these landscapes are in contrast marginalised (MacDonald 2002: 54; see also Macdonald 2008). Yet as Cronon (1995a: 55-56) argues, ‘they [landscapes] are first and foremost themselves, despite the many meanings we discover in them … [but a]cknowledging their autonomy and otherness does not spare us the task of trying to make human sense of what they seem to tell us’. Landscape and peoples’ places within them are, therefore, not fixed ‘in some essentialising sense, but are re-imagined and reworked collectively as required by cultural, social, political, economic and environmental exigency’ (Mackenzie 2010: 179).

Chapter 3 discussed the use of a ‘cultural values model’ within landscape management practices as a potential means of understanding how they could inform understandings of ‘landscapes’ and address the challenges of negotiating between multiple stakeholders. Stephenson (2008: 134) argues that there is a ‘clear call within contemporary thinking on landscape and space that it is necessary to move beyond static

understandings, and to be inclusive of movement, social practice and time.'[91] The management of the landscape – both historically and currently – was highlighted as a key factor in how the landscape had developed to look the way it did and so in turn how people currently experienced it. The chapter begins, therefore, by exploring landscape management and the key issues identified by the participants (section 7.2). The discussion then turns to how participants directly engaged with exploring a more 'hybrid' and inter-connected approach to nature/culture and the potential of such an approach to include cultural values in landscape management (section 7.3). The following two sections consider participants' narratives of 'nature' (section 7.4) and 'culture' (section 7.5) and how these may challenge and influence how landscape management is approached. The chapter concludes with a summary of the key points from the chapter (section 7.6).

7.2 Landscape management: a Highland perspective

Bakker & Bridge (2006: 15) argue that 'recent work on bodily geographies and 'the corporeal' […] grapples with the simultaneously biophysical and social character of material existence.' The previous two chapters have dealt directly with the 'more-than-visual' and embodied experiences of the participants and how these have provided a more nuanced and complex understanding of 'landscape'. This section explores the key landscape management issues identified by the participants through this same lens in order to highlight the 'biophysical and social character' of these management issues. Chapter 2 highlighted the 'Highland gaze' that is characterised by a more 'nostalgic' and 'romantic' imagery of Highland landscapes. Lorimer (2000: 405), following the work of Macnaughten & Urry (1998), argues that there are multiple 'cultures of nature' that are 'contrasting, reflective and overlapping'. These occur at multiple scales – local to national – whereby understandings of 'nature' are influenced by the social practices within the landscape. This section, therefore, aims to identify potentially culturally embedded perceptions of 'landscape' and in turn how this may be influencing practices of landscape and landscape management.

A diverse range of management issues in relation to the landscape were discussed by participants, from the material outcomes of management practices, to landscape designations, culture and representation within management (Table 7-1). The issues

[91] Such fluid understandings of landscape have been discussed in previous chapters but there remains a challenge, however, as to how this can then be translated into landscape management practice which will be discussed further in chapter 8.

identified provide contextual information in relation to the management agendas within Applecross and Assynt and will help to inform the discussions around management both in this chapter and chapter 8. They do highlight, however, that landscape management incorporates both the material landscape (including ecological issues such as reforestation) and also social relations and cultural perceptions of landscape and communities that have lived within the areas. Figures 7-1 to 7-3 explore three specific management issues identified by the participants; crofting and the changing population dynamics (Figure 7-1); deer populations and woodland regeneration (Figure 7-2) and raising awareness of the sea and fishing impacts (Figure 7-3). All three examples highlight the interlinked connections between past land (and sea) use and current land (and sea) use. Collectively the three figures highlight the complexity of these particular management issues, again drawing on ecological, social, cultural and political factors. The section will now critically discuss these management issues further.

Table 7-1: Management issues identified by participants within Applecross and Assynt

Category	Management issues highlighted
Material outcomes	Path works, energy production, reforestation, deer fencing, housing, species re-introductions (including, wolves, lynx and bears).
Culture	Past and present cultures, crofting, community ownership, private estates, wildness, deer, trees, sheep, folklore, family stories, social events, changing population dynamics.
Designations	Wild Land, top-down management from organisations outwith the area, seeing land as productive or something to be preserved.
Representation	The changing dynamics of the population within the area, community confidence, broader community involvement and engagement.

Perceived by some as derelict landscape, with the evidence of past runrig systems (and productivity) seen in the landscape and now no longer used:

Photographs taken by Sophie (local resident, Applecross) from a helicopter above Arrina.

Changing population demographics and approach to crofting that is still practiced:

'I think what has changed is that now it's pretty much individuals, … although I say we work together it's not really working together to manage the land […] all the townships [used to] be managed together, you know the sheep would be, you know in on that by land during the summer out on that hill in the winter and everybody would help each other with the shearing and as a result the land would be managed whereas now erm it's very much individuals working their own crofts so somebodies growing veg here, somebody's doing something there you know there isn't really a bigger picture erm, collaboratively […] that's not through nastiness or anything it's just through time. A lot of, you know crofting's very much a part time thing for, so erm so it is very much people managing their own patch now much more than it would have been. And not many people keep stock […] that will have a huge impact on, on the landscape when all the sheep go. You know the lack of grazing will actually be a problem to some extent […] there'll probably be a lot more bracken come again, just even with the trampling sheep keep it down,' (Alexandra, local resident, Applecross)

Old systems still used by some (drying grass on fences) and new practices being trialled (keeping bees)

Photographs taken by Rhys, (local resident Applecross)

Figure 7-1: The issue – the changing crofting landscape as a consequence of changing population dynamics within the areas

Perceived by some as a symbol of the Scottish Highlands and Highland 'nature':

'I appreciate them even more every year I think, their youth and innocence (laughs) their agility, the way they leap around with virtually no aid […] the deer are so bright, they work out all the gradients and tell you where to go, they're never boot marks they're just hoof marks […] I think that epitomises the whole thing, to see the deer and moving across the hillside without too many trees,' (Tim, visitor, Assynt).

Perceived by some as a symbol that disrupts the Highland landscape being seen as a 'spectacle' of 'wilderness' and sporting estates to one of restoration and conservation.

'[…] at the moment there are oak trees everywhere in that section of ground but the oak trees are perhaps that wide and that high (indicates with hands that they will be low to the ground but spreading out vertically) because they're eaten all the time by deer so the idea, or the erm, what we'll be able to see we think, as soon as the deer are out which they are now erm, those oak trees will begin to grow […] we have deer management plans and that's taking place at the moment, erm, that will be the biggest change that you will see in Applecross erm, because that land will start to regenerate and […] you think it's a natural landscape isn't, it is a landscape that has been eaten to death by deer, so if they're not there, that will change completely,' (Amelia, key informant, local organisation).

Figure 7-2: The issue – tension between deer management and woodland regeneration. A sketch of a red deer stag by the researcher; and photographs taken by the researcher of Carnoch woods, a hazel woodland in Applecross and woodland regeneration in the north of the peninsula, part of the North Applecross woodland scheme,

Applecross from the sea:

The sea was once the easiest way to get to the remote communities on the West coast. The sea has been (and still to a certain extent) a source of income for families through fishing. Fish stocks are declining assisting the change in population structure. Some argued for more awareness to be raised about the role of the sea within the landscape. Photograph taken by researcher.

Life in the sea:

Photographs taken by Owen (local resident, Applecross) highlighting his awareness of the impact that he has on the sea environment being a fishermen (clockwise from top left); 'jelly-fish reposing'; 'hermit crab'; 'gannets in formation'; 'seal pup'

Working the land and the sea, a historical perspective, interaction and transformation:

'[…] this is from a book called Master and Sail, it's the autobiography of Captain William Murchison […] *'my mother told me of a story[…]a man and his boy and girl were gathering seaweed on Crowlin islands the way home the boat capsized and the boy and girl were drowned then the mother who was at home heard the news […] she went to meet her husband who was saved.'* And that process of bringing in the seaweed to manure the fields, because at high tide this is a nice flat, you can get the boat right the way up and then just in front of us is, what's now tyre tracks […] it used to be where they could take carts down to unload the seaweed. Then further on he mentions, *'it was in the Spring of this year and the next that a sad drowning accident happened in Toscaig, a man, Kenneth Macrae, his daughter aged eighteen and his son about fourteen were gathering seaweed on the island of Crowlin for manure for the croft. They left the harbour with a full load of seaweed and sailed along to get into Toscaig, they were doing fairly well and the father was steering, he was an old sailor, it was not certain whether the boat was overloaded or a sudden gust of wind capsized the boat but they were all thrown into the water, my brother Roderick and John MacKenzie were not far away in a small rowing boat and at once went to their assistance, they rescued the father but the girl was dead before they got her out of the water, I can't remember if the boy was ever found. It cast a terrible gloom over the village and after that there was less seaweed taken on the shore to manure the crofts and by 1921, after the first world war, none was gathered.'* […this] autobiography places […] and dates a transformation in the way the land was used, it places and dates a transformation in the way a village society interacted' (Justin, local resident, Applecross)

Figure 7-3: The issue – the distinction made between sea and land.

All three figures highlight the influence 'landscaping' (Wylie 2007) and the everyday lived experiences of landscapes have had and continue to have on the appearance of the landscape, for example, crofting practices and the extract from a book read by Justin in Figure 7-3 and the use of the sea. Stephenson's (2008: 134-135) cultural values model (section 3.4.1, Figure 3-5) provides an integrated way of understanding landscape and how it is valued through the interaction of 'forms', 'practices' and 'relationships'. Stephenson also emphasises the importance of time and embedded values that may influence present-day values. These interactions through time can be identified within Figures 7-1 to 7-3. Figure 7-1, for example, illustrates the influence of broader social change within the areas (such as young people and families moving out of the areas and not becoming crofters) and how this is impacting on crofting practices (and relationship with the landscape) and so in turn effecting the 'form' of the landscape. It also identifies two different views, one of derelict landscapes and one that is still productive, albeit different to how it was in the past, for example bee keeping. Therefore one management 'issue' may have multiple values informed by different social and cultural, as well as 'natural' processes.

The management issues identified above are specific to Applecross and Assynt but are also being experienced throughout much of the Highlands of Scotland. They all have links with historic uses of the land and symbolic representations of social, political and cultural struggles transcending into current management agendas and practices (Lorimer 2000; MacDonald 2002; 1998; Toogood 2003; 1995). Consequently questions over landscape, land and their management are challenging, raising questions over what is being managed, how it is managed and why it is managed in a certain way. Stephenson's (2008) model thus can help to highlight the different interactions occurring that may drive some of the management issues, particularly past cultures that have since become embedded culturally – such as the deer – but also have been, to an extent, lost – such as the closer to connection to the sea. The complexity of the multiple values within these management issues, however, cannot be easily fitted into a single set of dynamic interactions between form, processes and relationships but rather they include multiple temporal trajectories from multiple stakeholders. This research would argue therefore that '*landscaping'* (Wylie 2007) and a focus on the 'more-than-visual' highlights a greater complexity within landscape management issues.

There were also issues which related more to broader issues of community and individual representation within the management process and particularly the issue of

where power to decide and implement management strategies was perceived to lie (Table 7-1). It was highlighted that landscape management issues are compounded by wider social conflicts related to perceived 'insider' and 'outsider' agendas of what these landscapes should 'be' and look like (Keulartz 2009; Toogood 2003; 1995; Trudgill 2008). Agendas from the 'outside' are often regarded as being imposed onto local populations, 'threatening traditional lifestyles already forced onto the defensive' (Keulartz 2009: 449). This is dealt with further in chapter 8 to explore the extent to which the incorporation of 'cultural values' and 'stakeholder engagement' is possible within landscape management.

In highlighting these tensions there is an awareness of the everyday use of the landscape. Focussing on the everyday, lived in, practicing of the landscape or 'landscaping' (Wylie 2007) as well as acknowledging the materialites of landscapes transcends the culture/nature tension. 'Landscape' thus becomes a space within which natural processes and cultural/social processes are interlinked (Bakker & Bridge 2006; Wylie 2007). Despite the potential tensions between different perspectives on landscape management participants acknowledged an interlinked view, in particular, between the landscape and the people and 'nature' and 'culture'. The following section considers the ways in which participants explored this more interlinked and 'hybrid' approach to 'nature' and 'culture'.

7.3 Moving towards a 'balanced' and 'hybrid' approach to nature/culture in landscape management

Whatmore (2006), citing the work of Daniels & Cosgrove (1988) argues that the focus on cultural perspectives of landscape can result in the privileging of the human creation of the landscape above the materiality and agency of the landscape itself. For some participants there was a desire to understand these relationships more clearly within landscape management in order to move these issues forward. This section explores the ways in which participants discussed the potential for management to move towards a more 'balanced' approach that could acknowledge the 'natural' and 'cultural' aspects of landscape management. It particularly explores this understanding of 'balance' in relation to Whatmore's (2002) discussion of 'hybridity'.

Participants, including some of the key informants from landscape management organisations, called for a greater 'balance' to be sought between ecological management on the one hand, and an acknowledgement that these were lived in and

worked landscapes. The following two quotations from key informants illustrate this perspective:

> '[…] if you look at the archaeology and where people settled and where their movements were and the routes that they took to get to various places and things like the Bone Caves […] it sort of indicates a pattern of people on the land and then that does lead on to how we have what we have today, and what we're left with from a biological point of view,' (Caroline, key informant, national organisation).

> '[…] when I look at the landscape […] I'm always looking for new things, I'm trying, err, too see what that bird is there, it's a wee willow warbler (stops to look at the bird), it's just picking something on the, on the birch tree. Erm, I don't know, the landscape wouldn't be the same if it didn't have willow warblers and didn't have, it's just that whole inter-connectedness of everything and trying to understand it, why is the willow warbler living here, the other warblers nest on the ground so they need cover on the ground, so, if it was heavily grazed by sheep there wouldn't be anywhere for them to nest, they also need trees, it's just, it's just a whole balance of things which I find quite interesting,' (Hugo, key informant, local organisation).

Through identifying particular species Hugo highlights his desire to understand how, in this case, the willow warbler is inter-connected with the surroundings. Both quotations identify the visual and biological impact that the habitation of people has had and continues to have on the landscape. Whatmore (2002: 6) argues 'hybrid mappings are necessarily topological, emphasising the multiplicity of space-times generated in/by movements and rhythms of heterogeneous associations.' Caroline identifies this in her quotation which describes understanding the routes that people used within the landscape that highlight how it was used and settles in the past. She then goes on to link how this past use has contributed to the landscape that is seen and used today, particularly highlighting how it can influence the biology (or 'nature') of the landscape. Such discussion echoes those of Ingold (2006) and his interwoven 'mesh-work' of interactions between people, routes and landscapes discussed in section 6.2.1 and the practices of walking. Hugo identifies both the localised surroundings that are needed for the warbler to exist in that landscape as well as identifying a potential human management influence if sheep were introduced with potential impacts on the ability of the warbler to stay. Hugo discussed the interest he had in exploring the 'balance of things' within the landscape. Many participants spoke of a desire for a more

interconnected and balanced understanding between people and landscape to be extended to landscape management.

Paula (visitor, Applecross) argued for 'a balance between not spoiling the landscape but at the same time working to keep it useful and accessible.' Here Paula is placing value on how the landscape looks by not 'spoiling' it but also the need for it to be 'useful'. Whatmore (2000) calls for a disruption of the binary concepts of 'nature' and 'culture' and for a 'radical recognition of the intimate, sensible and hectic bonds through which people, organisms, machines and elements make and hold their shape in relation to each other in the business of everyday living'. There is an argument, therefore, that it is through practicing landscape such as in the ways identified in the previous two chapters that 'our ideas of what is 'nature' and what is 'culture'' are formed to an extent by the everyday interactions with and between landscapes (Wylie 2007: 11). These everyday interactions, however, can be informed by how the landscape is and has been managed. There is therefore a reciprocal and hybrid relationship between people and landscape that is in a constant process of becoming and transformation[92].

Figure 7-2 highlighted the tension between the different perceptions of deer and woodland, informed in part by the symbolic perceptions of the two in relation to how the Highlands should be managed. Both are informed by culturally embedded ideas and connotations with the landscapes past(s). The following quotation highlights a connected approach of management between deer and trees:

> 'I mean an interesting example say is Carnoch wood […] it's a beautiful place, has great wildlife value, what is threatening it, it's not regenerating, there is no young trees. Why are there no young trees? Because there's too many deer. Why are there too many deer? Because, erm, the estate […] one of the key things it's managed for is deer […] if you start talking about that, you start talking about conflict between the community and the Trust[93] because the deer come into their land or their gardens err if you want to deal with the deer in Carnoch you have to deal […] with deer management erm, it gets quite political, so just you know a simple small area of woodland to try err if you then want to sort out that, if you were to enclose Carnoch and keep the deer out that is not necessarily a good thing 'cos one of the reasons

[92] This discussion on the relationship between people and landscape from a landscape management perspective is taken further in section 7.5.

[93] The 'Trust' is the Applecross Trust, a charitable trust whose board is still chaired by the family that owned the Applecross Estate before it became a charitable trust.

> […] why the woodland is so good for lichens and mosses is 'cos it's open which is because of the deer, the deer are the problem but […] they need to be there, they are native species a simple thing about why is that woodland so beautiful, because it's the deer, what's the threat it's also the deer, how do you resolve that well then you get into, into politics of land ownership and, and land management and takes a lot to sort it out and that just shows, I think the connections between wildlife reserve and, and people. And it's true whatever you look at,' (Jeremy, key informant, local organisation).

What Jeremy identified above is the complex and interconnected relationship between, landscape, wildlife, people and land ownership issues. This connected approach that Jeremy identifies, however, is embedded within social and cultural tensions. The Highlands of Scotland and the changing patterns of ownership have influenced the appearance and management of the landscapes of both Applecross and Assynt. Mackenzie (2006: 384) argues that 'political possibilities of place' within the Highlands are currently being 're-visioned' through the increased emergence and practice of community ownership and collective rights. The practice of private estate ownership Mackenzie further argues has normalized 'a particular way of seeing – here a landscape without people – at the same time masking how power continues to be exercised through particular constructions of nature, as wilderness of deer forests,' (*ibid.:* 389). Thus management is not only influenced by the narratives of 'nature' and 'culture' but also by practices of power and ownership[94]. This was likewise reflected in the way that socio-political boundaries can influence how landscape is connected to broader ecological processes and interaction. The following quotation argues that there needs to be more interconnected understandings of the sea with the land and the people who work with the sea but live on the land:

> '[…]she [community council member] thought the boundaries for the community council political line was the shore and anything that happened out here had nothing to do with them and I just think that's so, so wrong, it's just the pure fact the number of people that work on the sea, that you know their income depends on the sea and yeah they live on the land,' (Oscar, local resident, Applecross).

Oscar (see also Figure 7-3) highlights an awareness of the sea within the broader landscape, reflecting the discussions in section 5.3.3 and the role sea on sky on visual perceptions of landscape. It also argues for broader consideration of people and culture

[94] The role of land ownership within landscape management discussions is explored further in chapter 8.

within landscape management highlighting that livelihoods of people are dependent on the sea for work but the land on which to live. This research, therefore, argues for a wider sense of 'nature', 'culture' and 'hybrid' approaches to landscape management that also take into account the socio-political structures and processes, such as ownership and management structures that are in place.

These narratives of 'interconnectivity' and 'balance' between people and landscape and a more 'hybrid' conceptualisation of the 'nature/culture' tension were apparent through many of the discussions in relation to landscape management. The following sections therefore continue to develop the potential of 'hybridity' to explore cultural values and how they could inform landscape management. It should be noted that though the sections are loosely divided between 'nature' and 'people' they act as pointers to the focus of the discussion as opposed to suggesting they are in some way distinct.

7.4 Narratives of nature: 'wildness', 'natural landscapes' or 'managed landscapes'?

Underlying the quotations of interconnection was still a tension between 'nature' on the one hand and on the other, 'culture' – or people in particular – being separate from the landscapes through the management of them. Emerging through the narratives around landscape management was a tension between a more productive or utilitarian view of 'nature' and 'landscape' compared to a more preservationist view. These narratives were often conflicted with past management. The issues raised in figures 7-1 and 7-2 in relation to the changing crofting landscape and the tension between deer and trees illustrate these different views and values of landscape. Due to emphasis being placed on the visual experience within landscape management (for example the LCA methodology outlined in chapter 3) identifying how participants understood and explored the role of people within the management of the landscape can provide insights into the cultural norm and predominant 'cultural aesthetics' of landscapes (Macdonald 2002: 64).

The aim of this section is to highlight how the narratives of 'nature' are often embedded with cultural perceptions. The discussion begins by highlighting the debate many participants had around the idea of 'wildness'. There was a tension between it being an experience had within landscape as opposed to something that could be used to define management practices (section 7.4.1). Linked to these debates around wildness was the perception of 'nature' as being something that is seen as fragile or as something that is

much stronger than people (section 7.4.2). The discussion ends by focussing on participants' views on how management is practiced and the rights they felt they had to manage the landscape (section 7.4.3).

7.4.1 The nature of 'wildness'

The landscapes of both case study areas have been recognised for their scenic qualities and, in particular, for their 'wildness'[95]. Quotations in previous chapters have highlighted that some participants did describe some of their experiences and the landscapes as 'wild'. The description of 'Wild Land' within the Wild Land Policy emphasises the 'intangible quality' to landscape. Yet, as highlighted within the policy review in chapter 3, it still relies on quantifiable factors, such as distance from a main road and population densities (Scottish Natural Heritage 2014b). This section explores the factors that participants identified as making landscapes 'wild' to them before focussing on the challenges of perceived 'wildness' in relation to management of the landscape.

Many participants, in both case study areas, would often describe the landscapes as being 'wild'. Yet asking them to explain further what made the landscapes 'wild' would often challenge the participants. The following two quotations highlight two perspectives:

> 'This is one of my favourite places […] 'cos it's wild I think and empty, empty of people,' (Trixie, local resident, Assynt).

> '[…] probably combination of the people, landscape, the wildness of it but also it's not inaccessible, it's still friendly, erm, and it doesn't feel like you shouldn't be there, sometimes you know it's just maybe a bit too wild but this sort of looks like, you know, if you look at the history people have wanted to live here for ages and you can see why, I can see why,' (Beth, local resident, Assynt).

For Trixie 'wildness' comes from the landscape being empty of people. This was reflected by a number of participants who placed positive value on 'remoteness' and so on a landscape relatively 'empty' of people. Cronon (1995: 69) and Whatmore (2002: 10) both argue that within 'wildness' discourses there is the potential to 'get […] back to the wrong nature' as they can reproduce 'categorical binaries' between 'society' and

[95] For more detail on the Wild Land Policy, see chapter 3, section 3.3.2.

'nature'. Alongside this, however, they argue there is a need for greater recognition of the 'everyday' and 'lived experiences' of these landscapes that challenge and disrupt such binaries. The quotation by Beth, in contrast, acknowledges accessibility of this landscape which consequently had a more 'friendly' feeling for her. Beth also reflected on the temporality of the landscape through the presence of people who had lived in the area in the past which likewise made her feel that she was allowed to be there. This demonstrates the complexity of 'wildness' as a value associated with landscapes among the participants, and in ways which disrupt some of the relatively quantifiable measures adopted by the Wild Land Policy.

In fact, during discussions around 'wildness' participants would often make contradictory statements such as referring to a lack of human presence but then acknowledging the historical presence of people within the landscape. Consequently, participants would often begin to challenge themselves on what they felt 'wild' really meant. It has been argued that a 'mythical status' has been attached to the Highlands of Scotland associated with being a 'wilderness', yet this conflicts with a lived and worked landscape reality (MacDonald 1998: 237). Consequently, Macdonald argues, conservation management within the Highlands reflects a cultural 'ideological process as much as a physical one' (*ibid.*: 238). Red deer population, for example, was an issue that was raised by a number of participants. It has been described as 'the cult of the red deer' with a 'vision of romantic nature and 'clan tradition' […] acted out by royalty and the urban industrial élite,' (MacDonald 2002: 61). This critique is highlighted in the following quotation:

> 'I think the landscape would be completely different if there weren't these big old Victorian estates that are just playthings […] there'd be a lot more trees about for one thing because there were a lot more trees […] they don't want too many trees because they'd lose the deer and they need the open hill land for the deer, so they can shoot them,' (Huw, local resident, Applecross).

Yet as shown in Figure 7-2 some participants see the deer as a symbolic species of the Highlands. Consequently, when looked through a cultural lens, management issues can often be embedded within past social, cultural and political practices alongside more ecological issues (Toogood 2003; 1995).

For some local resident participants, ‘wildness’ was a concept they found difficult to associate with the landscapes in which they lived. Connotations of ‘wildness’ with an empty landscape did not sit well for people when they lived in and worked the landscape:

> ‘I guess there’s a gentleness about it despite the fact it’s a wild area […] I’m not a great believer in wild places in Scotland but you can get wild conditions which turn them into wild places I guess. Erm, most of what people call wilderness or wild land is somebody else’s back yard, you know whether it’s where we graze our sheep or go hunting or whatever you know. It’s only a wilderness to somebody who’s come from the suburbs or the urban area. But it can be very wild of course,’ (Patrick, local resident, Assynt).

Patrick identifies ‘wildness’ as an experience that is felt rather than a quality of the landscape in and of itself. He also makes a distinction between his own ‘lived’ experience of the landscape and therefore an understanding that – to him – these landscapes are not wild, compared to somebody ‘from the suburbs’ who may not see the landscape as being lived in due to the different experience to their own life. In contrast the following perspective on ‘wildness’, by George and Florence (visitors, Assynt) similarly commented on the experience of wildness:

> **Florence:** I think this area because [of] its ruggedness, it’s really because it’s really rugged and there’s nothing tamed and it’s wild and it’s not that lush and sort of like English-ish and it’s unspoilt.
>
> **George:** It is and then in other ways it isn’t, yeah.
>
> **Florence:** There’s times when the weather is really wild and crap and then there’s other times when it’s really sublime like earlier on this evening and it’s all just really nice and quiet and then the next day it can be really horrible and change. But a lot of it is the light, the light is so amazing, I mean it just changes the shadows, there’s nothing bland about it at all, it’s never bland.

Florence suggests that the landscapes of Assynt are different to others, suggesting they are not ‘tamed’ like those in England and are ‘unspoilt’. Wildness again, though, is regarded in relation to the experience of landscape. The question over ‘wildness’, therefore, becomes an interesting challenge for landscape managers, particularly with regard to the extent to which a landscape should be designated as being ‘wild’ and what

implications such a designation might then have. It has been argued that some conservation management 'clings to unexamined, locationally specific attachments which have arisen historically,' (Trudgill 2008: 99). The Highlands of Scotland have often been labelled as Britain's (and in some instances Europe's) 'last great wilderness' (see for examle Tait 2009). Exploring culturally embedded notions of landscape can thus raise the influence of past (and present) management practices on how they are perceived. This can, however, be in conflict with the everyday landscapes and 'taskscapes' experienced by those that live within these landscapes such as those described by Patrick above.

Cronon (1995: 69) has argued that the notion that 'wildernesses' are the few places on earth that 'stand apart from humanity' is in fact a human creation. The Highlands and Islands of Scotland have remained relatively undeveloped in comparison to the rest of the UK and Europe and so have had attached to them sentiments of nostalgia and a more 'simple' life (see section 2.2.2). To an extent this was reflected in the discussions around the notion of the therapeutic landscape experience (section 6.5). For those who live in the Highlands, however, the reality is often very different and, consequently, such 'protective' policies as the 'Wild Land Policy' can be viewed as being restrictive, not taking account of the communities that are living within them. It likewise overlooks that these areas were once populated in much larger numbers than they are now and the evidence of these communities remains within the landscape today. A further aspect of management in relation to wildness is seen in Brown *et al.* (2011) who have argued for the ecological benefits of adopting a 're-wilding' strategy as part of the broader conservation management of the Highlands of Scotland. Part of that re-wilding strategy is the potential re-introduction of key species – including beaver, lynx and wolves – that were once part of the biodiversity of the Highland area. The potential of species re-introductions was an issue being discussed within Assynt. For some this was seen positively as a means to overcome the 'taming' of the landscape that has occurred through continuous management. Others, however, viewed it more negatively resulting in strong reactions:

> '[…] don't get me wrong I'm all for protecting the environment 100% behind it but just don't get silly and prevent any sort of, […] I don't even mean progress, well it is progress, I'm talking progress in the best possible way, but you know they just want to keep this as a sort of or make this, it's not even keep this a wilderness, it's make it into a wilderness 'cos it's not,

> it's not a wilderness here but they want to bring it back to that. I mean all this silly talk of bringing bears back, for the love of God, I mean (starts laughing and shaking her head) if I came round the corner of the house and got out the car in the middle of the night and there's some (laughs) I mean it's silly nonsense, it's just utter silly nonsense' (Angelina, local resident, Assynt).

For Angelina the idea of Assynt being or becoming a 'wilderness' through the re-introduction of certain species would prevent the potential for the area to develop in the interest of the people who lived and worked there. Underlying these discussions of wilderness are more fundamental questions on how participants perceived 'nature'. The following section now considers how participants discussed 'nature' more directly.

7.4.2 The nature of 'Nature': strong or fragile?

Demeritt (2002: 769) argues that the social construction of concepts is to 'refute taken for granted beliefs about the essential nature of things.' 'Nature' has been increasingly described as being socially constructed, the discussion around 'wildness' above is one aspect of this much broader and complex concept. Participants would often refer to 'nature' and 'landscapes' as being 'strong' and 'fragile' in response to the activities of people that have, and continue, to manage it. Section 5.5 discussed the notion that landscapes were 'living'. The section ended, however, with Olivia's discussion around her 'fear' of change and the damage that can be done to the landscapes of Applecross by how they are being managed. Such discussions imbue certain perceptions of fragility on landscapes. This section discusses the different ways in which participants discussed 'nature', focussing on narratives of 'strong nature' and 'fragile nature'.

Some participants perceived 'nature' to be a much stronger and evolving entity, as the following quotation illustrates:

> 'I was noticing there about the lochs err, getting weedier and I was speaking to the keeper about it and I said 'well you can see that, that was clearly a loch at some time,' people wouldn't comment on that […] you know people are immediately suspicious but it's probably something that happens all the time. Nature changes and heals itself, everything here, look at the houses - everything has come out of the ground and later on it will all go back in the ground, it will just suck it up again […] And when they talk about Maelrubha[96] and that sort of thing, you know you have no idea what the

[96] Maelrubha is a saint that founded a monastic community in Applecross in 7th Century.

> landscape was like here just it's difficult to imagine it, people say 'oh it would have looked like this, it would have been that,' well at one time they had lime kilns and iron ore then they needed to cut down everything, you know … So I mean it's nice and rugged but it wasn't always like that. You know, no one ever wrote it down,' (Leonard, local resident, Applecross).

Leonard described 'nature' as being something that 'changes and heals itself' echoing to some extent the discussion above and the separation between people and 'nature'. Despite the human habitation of the landscape from, at least the 7th Century, people are considered to have lived on the landscape as opposed to being part of that evolutionary process. The by-products of living on the land, Leonard argued will be 'sucked back' into the ground and only then become part of 'nature' again. It also echoes the discussion in relation to time, change and continuity in landscapes (section 5.5.3) and how some participants would place their own lives within the context of geologic time of the landscapes. The flow of energy changing landscapes through time 'vividly represent the processes of (relational) life' between the landscape and people, thus such processes are as much the 'driving agencies' as 'discrete (human) actors' within landscape change (Jones 2011c: 163).

Yet many participants commented on the physical changes made through management on the landscape. The following extract from the interview with Rosalind (visitor, original emphasis) while walking through community managed woodland in Assynt highlights her reaction to a pathway into the woods that she had been on a number of times before:

> '[…] something to be said about this, this (indicating the road) is shite, I don't know what they've done […] unbelievable, this is the first time I've actually been up this bit since they've done it, now that used to go to the little car park which it presumably still does but it's completely different, erm, they used, oh my God, what have they done?! There used to be just a little path going off round the back, the path used to be like that and they've just, I don't know what they're doing, I mean I guess they're trying to make it accessible, but it was already pretty accessible and you can't get a wheelchair up here anyway. Err, sort of strongly feel somebody's been given some money and they think 'oh shit we better spend it.' Yeah, it's quite upsetting really, […] I mean look at that, all that lovely mossy stuff and the trees and it's just kind of (makes a noise) oh well, I suppose it will blend in eventually […]' (Rosalind, visitor, Assynt).

Rosalind's strong emotional reaction to the development of the track within the woodlands clearly highlights how she feels this will influence her experience of 'being-in-the-landscape'. She blames it on the managers of the woodland and having money that needs to be spent. As we continued to walk we came across a path that she was used to seeing:

> 'Now, ah yes, one of the little paths, but they've even gravelled that […] so that's happened since I was here before, oh well, interesting […] Oh, it can't be 'cos that's the way. This is so weird, it's like being in a different place … God. I should have sussed it out before I brought you on it shouldn't I (laughs)? […] I mean that's a mess. Actually maybe this is good because you're going to get my reaction as shock and horror, you know, what's happened to my beloved walk. This (indicating the track) used to be this wide, and it's all tree roots, yeah, just like that (indicating the trees to the side of the path), yeah beautiful, what is this, it's a flaming road … are we turning into America?'

Rosalind felt as though her 'beloved' walk that she had done repeatedly when she used to live in the area has been altered. Such a reaction highlights the impacts that management can have on how landscapes are experienced both physically and emotionally. Rosalind further discussed her perception of 'nature':

> 'Yes so after a few hurricanes and things the woods can still feel wild. I like that as well about nature, I like the fact that you can't you know, as much as we think we can control it in the end we can't, it always has the last say. And I think that's important you know, men [sic] these days think, a man [sic] should I say, these days thinks it's, he's [sic] so important and untouchable erm, and there's no fun in that really 'cos there's no challenge any more is there, if you've got the whole world sussed but to know there's actually something that is stronger and greater than you, I'm not religious and I think nature's my religion erm, I feel that nature is what rules the world erm, and yeah it always will be stronger than us yes but we can trash it so we can't enjoy it anymore but it will still be here and it will still win in the end [...] If we want to keep it looking pretty and beautiful then it's fragile because we can just cover it over with concrete but nature's more than just the landscape, nature's you know, erm, it's the weather, it's the whole world isn't it, it's erm, yeah life itself.'

This narrative of 'nature' is highly gendered and indicates a strong separation of people from 'nature'. Rosalind argued that 'nature' is both 'fragile' and 'stronger' than people. People have the power to change the way that landscapes look but simultaneously,

Rosalind argued, 'nature' is 'life itself'. In contrast to this narrative the following quotation highlights a slightly more interlinked relationship:

> 'I mean some people think that everything should be left to nature to forge its own course, which I think is right to a degree but you can argue that nature has given us the ability to work hand in hand with it, so you can argue that it should be left or you intervene, as long as you do it in a correct manner, but then what's the correct manner because everyone has a different opinion,' (Noel, visitor, Applecross).

Noel highlighted the potential for a more interventionist approach to managing 'nature' due to the ability of people to work and live with 'nature' thus moving towards a more interconnected view of people and 'nature'. This reflects the 'virtuous circle' (Powell *et al.* 2002) which places people within a reciprocal relationship of sustainable landscape management (see section 3.4.1) whereby investment (in terms of money and time) can result in positive feedback for both the landscape and people. Noel also touched on the challenge of deciding what the 'correct manner' of managing 'nature' was as 'everyone has a different opinion'. Negotiating between different views on 'nature' and 'landscape' is discussed further in section 8.2.2.

The following section now considers how participants discussed 'nature' in relation to how it was used within the landscape furthering the discussion on 'taskscape' in chapter 6. The section focusses specifically on how participants worked with nature and how this informed and influenced how they came to value the landscape and their place within it more broadly, demonstrating the hybrid concepts often underlay many of their discussions.

7.4.3 'What right have I got': using and managing 'nature' and landscapes

A consistent narrative by the participants relating to 'nature' - particularly in relation to landscape management - was how landscapes were used. This was often discussed to challenge the more conservationist discourses as identified above in the section on 'wildness'. Rick reflects this with regard to his work with 'nature' and the sea (see also figure 7-3), in particular he challenged the right he felt he had to be exploiting 'nature' as a resource by recollecting a more problematic memory:

> 'I've, to my great shame I've had a couple, I've had a basking shark and a whale caught up in my rope and, when I see them just coming up to the surface and err, you know dead, I get pretty bothered up by it, you just

> question your existence, what right have I got to make money and they come along and drown you so,' (Rick, local resident).

Rick felt an emotional reaction to the unintentional killing of particular animals as a consequence of his fishing practices, something that still influences him and his experience as a fisherman. A similar reaction is expressed in the following extract from Harry (local resident) in relation to deer management:

> **Harry:** […] we've had a problem over here, there's people wanting to shoot a lot more deer than is reasonably err, proper for the ground and you've got to stand against that 'cos you don't want to see all the deer getting slaughtered you know. So you would have to take your stand against that and against other things as well, that you feel are not right, to protect what you believe is the way the environment should be around you.
>
> **Amy:** A few people have mentioned about the deer culling, do you know why people want to cull more deer?
>
> **Harry:** […] for a while the deer were a dominant species up here and we had quite a large stock of deer but now it's swung totally the other way in that the deer have become almost like vermin, they're classed by certain groups in our society as being err, menace to society really, or a, a drawback whereas I view them as the pinnacle of the Highlands really. When you see something and you see a big red deer stag on the front of a box or something you're immediately drawn to it or I am and yet why should we slaughter all these deer just because people are thinking they're going to bring back in the wolves and the bears and the trees in greater numbers to the land, why can we not have the deer and the trees, just fence the land you want the trees in and put them in there and leave the deer on the mountains, I think they can cohabit quite easily, if the land is managed properly. But if it's not managed properly and you're trying to kill off all the deer and favour the trees, what you're going to get is a wilderness because you'll have piles of trees and piles of heather and stuff but you won't have the animals to control it, you won't have any grass eaters 'cos, because most of them will be gone.

Harry felt strongly that he had to defend the way that he believed the environment should be. He recognised his emotional attachment to the deer and described them as the 'pinnacle of the Highlands' (see also Figure 7-2). For many the deer are representative of class struggle within the Highlands as the sporting estates for which they are managed (Mackenzie 2006). Similar to Rick above, Harry was strongly

influenced by working the landscape for a number of years in the past. He argued that management should not be for one particular species but should try to encourage co-habitation between multiple species. These quotations highlight more complex arguments in relation to landscape management that are not simply use/conservation debates but part of much broader challenges around cultural views of both the landscape itself and how it should be managed.

From some participants there was a strong 'utilitarian' perspective of 'nature' and 'landscape':

> 'Yeah I think they have to be used. Well I mean I think they are areas of real wilderness which, you know you probably don't want to see huge amount of human influence but this is a community, you want to see activity and, and people and erm, signs of life and erm, people making their livings and things like that. You don't want to, you don't want it to be full of ruins and houses that are empty all year round and, or most the year round erm and things preserved there just for the sake of preserving them […] Heritage Lottery funding really annoys me. You're not allowed to spend it on anything useful (laughs)! […] some of the stuff that's been done, fine but, you know what happens after the three years come to an end, the funding stops, what's supposed to happen? It just sits there,' (Rowen, local resident, Applecross, original emphasis).

Rowen keenly stressed the need for purpose and use behind landscape management practices that, in particular, benefited the local community. She also termed Applecross as a 'community' as opposed to a 'wilderness', again emphasising the importance of the lived nature of the landscape (see also Figure 7-4). She also mentions Heritage Lottery Funding and how this has been used to fund particular projects within the area, the issue of funding within landscape management, and the role it plays on the type of landscape management practices (and projects that are undertaken) is discussed further in section 8.2.4. The day-to-day living within the landscape was also reflected on in the following quotation:

> 'The general perception of landscape is a very utilitarian one, you, err, it has to be, I mean this is a hard place to earn a living, it was harder in some ways in the past or easier in others, people made more use of the natural resources

Figure 7-4: Photograph of tapestry work of the crofting landscape by Joy (local resident, Applecross). Joy was keen to provide me with this photograph as she wanted to show how her craft-work reflected her working of the landscape through her croft. She would often mention the role of the working landscape and the influence this had on how the landscape looked, which she felt was a direct consequence of crofting (past and present) and the ownership of the area as a 'traditional' sporting estate.

> I mean they grew more stuff, more food, erm and they fished more, so but they still had to earn a living and they would, they were gillie-ing for people who, err, incomers who came up here often on a very regular basis to fish, and that's been happening for a hundred years, so that was extra income but

> erm, you know err, you will still find if you talk to really local people of which there are none left in Nedd now, the last one died, that, that I mean you know, [they had an] appreciation of [the] landscape,' (Ross, local resident, Assynt).

Ross argued that previous inhabitants of Assynt made 'more use' of the 'natural resources' within the landscape compared to an easier lifestyle that local inhabitants have now. He descried how the 'utilitarian view' was a necessity for living in Assynt (and similarly others argued in relation to Applecross) because of the greater difficulty earning a living from the landscape. MacDonald (1998: 237) has argued that crofters are 'caught between the stewardship of the landscape on the one hand, and their own material improvement on the other.' This argument was reflected not just by crofters but those who wanted to see more people living in the landscapes. It also highlights the tension between spectacle and culture that a 'dwelling' perspective can illuminate, as discussed in chapter 6. Throughout this section though focussing on the narratives of 'nature' it has demonstrated that these 'natures' can be constructed through how landscapes are experienced and broader cultural norms of 'nature'. The following section, therefore, discusses management through a specifically cultural lens. As this section has demonstrated, however, it is not possible to clearly separate between 'nature' and 'culture'. Instead they are much more interlinked. Once again, therefore the headings in the following section, though stating the role of people they are pointers to the focus and emphasis in the sections rather than suggesting that they are distinct from the themes identified above.

7.5 Placing people and heritage in landscape management

This section considers the role of culture and history and how this influenced the way that people perceived the management of the landscape. Stephenson (2008: 135- 136) argues that landscape values are 'contingent on elements from both the past and present' and 'landscape is thus always changing, carrying forward the threads of the past and weaving them into the future'. This echoes the 'carrying stream' analogy in relation to culture identified by MacPhail (2006) and Mackenzie (2010). Landscape values can thus be socially and culturally embedded values of past experience and management that have been passed through the generations and as described by Stephenson, 'brought forward' to influence contemporary experience and management.

The section begins by focussing on the ways in which participants explored past and contemporary landscape management practices and how this influenced their understandings and experiences of landscape (section 7.5.1). Many participants felt that culture was linked with the history of the areas and the communities that had lived there and managed the landscape. For many these communities represented the Gaelic culture and traditions which some felt has been lost as the nature of the population has changed over a long period of time, including due to the Clearances and as people have moved in from different areas over time. The final section focuses on the role of 'heritage' and how perceptions of this have influenced perceptions of how landscape 'should' be managed (section 7.5.2).

7.5.1 'I don't think you can sort of discuss or think of landscape without thinking of human management and their influence'

The quotation used for the title of this section exemplifies the challenge that some participants felt in discussing the 'naturalness' of the landscape. Echoing the discussions around 'wildness', the quotation emphasises the privileging of people within the concepts of 'landscape'. Discussing landscape management brought in to focus the influence and impact this can have on how landscapes appeared:

> 'This is all managed. This, this area looks a bit like a kind of bombsite is because the rhododendron has been cleared and is going to come back. So I don't think you can separate that out, you know there is nothing here that is pristine untouched, it's the same for the whole of the UK, I don't think you can sort of discuss or think of landscape without thinking of, of human management and their influence,' (Ewan, key informant, local organisation).

For some participants this began to challenge their own ideas of 'landscape' and whether it is something that can be separate from people. This is highlighted in the following extract with two local residents of Applecross Scott and Eilidh, and a visitor Mirriam:

> **Scott:** […] I just wonder whether the landscape exists of its own, of itself or is it only really ever a component of, you know reliant on what people either use or don't use it for erm, I just wondered it's quite a difficult concept, the landscape.
>
> **Eilidh:** Well as a perfect example the heathland is a managed environment, the heathland is created by management and it's sustained by it without management it disappears basically, seven year cycle the heather falls out,

> rots in the middle, you know it's, that's why they're introducing animals in heathland areas all across Europe because it's the only way to manage it so that, and I suppose trees.
>
> **Scott:** Brambles, gorse and then eventually trees, yeah. […]
>
> **Eilidh:** They created, people created the landscape as it is now but if they all went away it would just be different, it would be a different landscape.
>
> **Mirriam:** Yeah because nothing is you know, nothing is static and
>
> **Scott:** Exactly.
>
> **Mirriam:** Everything changes, always.
>
> **Eilidh:** It will still be a landscape, it would just be a different one.

This reflects the discussion in section 7.3 in relation to 'nature'. Here, however, greater emphasis is being placed on the influence of long term management of the landscape – the example of heathland here – in how the landscape has come to look and be as it is. There is the potential within this narrative of privileging the power and influence of people to change or maintain the landscape as it is. Eilidh did argue, however, that the landscape would still 'be' even if people were no longer in it, 'it would just be different.' This echoes the discussion in chapter 5 of a more fluid and evolving understanding of landscape and is reflected in the following quotation which highlights the continuous habitation of the landscape from the Bronze Age:

> '[…]I can't help but see bracken […] bracken is usually a sign of past cultivation, usually a sign of a lot of nitrogen in the ground so erm, you know this has obviously been used in the past, it's used by sheep at the minute but, we've just learned that, up beyond this wee house there's erm, Bronze Age hut circles, it's really interesting, erm, nobody knew they were there erm, so this area for three, four thousand years has obviously been used by people they've, they've had animals […] they will have influenced the landscape, why are they here because, it's a very fertile bit of landscape or have they by being here, by having all their animals and fertilising, of dunging of their, their livestock and, people putting seaweed on it or whatever, have they created that fertility? It's quite interesting,' (Rupert, local resident, Assynt).

Rupert began to question why the landscape became inhabited in the first place, whether it was fertile originally or had become fertile because of human habitation. The

inhabiting of the landscape, as discussed by Ingold (2006) and in the previous chapter, contributes to the framing of landscape as a 'mesh-work' between human and non-human that evolves through and with time. The following quotation highlights the past use of landscape and how it has influenced the current appearance of the landscape:

> '…it's [history is] interesting to … you see the difference between the land that hasn't been used and the land that has been used but, I think when I first, first came here I was like, 'that's such a shame,' you know people have put so much energy in this croft land for generations err, and now it's just barren and gone back to nature but in a way maybe that's inevitable because, you know, people don't have the same lifestyles anymore, and I'm a bit of an ideologist [sic] so I would like to you know us all to go back maybe to that lifestyle but. It's great, well if you see this wild, barren you can't really think that people would be able to sustain themselves. I think it's hard work … the amount of energy you put in, you did get a lot of it back as well,' (Hermione, local resident, Assynt).

The historic use of the landscape through crofting has visually impacted on the landscape, highlighting the multiple temporalities of past and present on the appearance of the landscape. Hermione had, to a certain extent, a level of nostalgia for the past crofting lifestyle but acknowledged the energy required to work the landscape.

For some participants they were keen to emphasise that these landscapes are lived *in*:

> '[…] this is a completely lived in landscape erm, and it's, yeah, it gets on with its own thing and you know, the seals and the birds and the trees and the water and the rocks and all the rest of it, they're not here because we put them there but they're definitely, the whole landscape is totally influenced by what human beings have done to it in the past and what they do to it now…' (Rosanne, local resident, Assynt, original emphasis).

For Rosanne, it is not just the people that make it a lived landscape but also the flora and fauna, neither they nor people are somehow separated but both are interconnected as she goes on to say:

> '… you get these wooded crofts where clearly people have been making their living off the sea resources rather than off the land erm, and also where and because in need for material for boats and creels and stuff like that, that actually the wood resources were very important but even in Ardroe, these woods here erm, the, and you'll see it everywhere around the coast where the woods are, you can see that, because people valued the woods in the past

> because it was the only source of firewood, presumably […] they have been valued by people for what they can provide, erm, and then the bare hills above, you know, they're there because they've been burned off and you can see, yeah there are woods up to, you know, well higher than the height of these tops along here, it's not that the trees won't grow it's because they're suppressed erm, and you end up with that, you know mosaic landscape that is erm, so yeah there's wild things going on but I don't think I really kinda see it, a dichotomy between what's natural and what's human, I mean we're part of nature and we, we have a big footprint and the more densely we are gathered and the more intensely we set about manipulating it the more impact on the natural we have but we're not unnatural I don't think (laughs)?!'

Once again, Rosanne argues that people and nature are not dichotomous, specifically emphasising that people are not 'unnatural'. This argument is in contrast to the narratives of separation in the previous section and suggests that management should incorporate human use of the landscape, but that use should be within the capacity of the landscape. In this quotation Rosanne uses the term 'value' but not in a monetary sense but in terms of how the resources within the landscape have been used by people who work the landscape. The following quotation continues this argument with the participant highlighting the importance of how landscapes have been used in the past and so informing how they could be used again in the future:

> 'I think it's important to have an understanding of the history, so that you can treat the landscape with the respect that it deserves which I suppose is one of the reasons why, if I moved here, I would want to have a croft and yes I would be doing something different from generations past […] you can wander your way right throughout the hills and there's not even any path you're just wandering around random hillsides and you come across a croft house because it used to be so much more populated, because people actually were working the landscape, so what you do with it at the time is actually quite important and you can learn from what people used to do as well, […] because obviously if it worked for them it'll work for me,' (Eleanor, visitor[97], Assynt).

Eleanor describes how seeing how people once managed the land can provide pointers as to how people could manage the landscape today. Past practices and cultures of managing the landscape are thus an embedded part of the landscape, and are being used

[97] Eleanor grew up in Assynt but no longer lives there permanently

to some extent by those living and working the land today. Some of these embedded practices were, however, seen by some as being destructive to the 'nature' of the landscape and not were regarded as having ecological value:

> '[…] when we get up here and you're in a wilder landscape […] and the effects of man are rather more subtle but they're still very pervasive, I mean I don't, I mean you may have seen the signs coming round the coast road of burning. Well, I mean that, that is one of the most destructive management practices and it is also pretty useless,' (Garry, local resident, Assynt).

These management practices with(in) the landscape highlight the interconnection of people with landscape. This lens of practice of the landscape focusses the effect that people have on shaping the appearance of the landscape and also how it is experienced both positively and negatively. In the following quotation the participant argues that 'the Western world' and 'nature' are separate:

> 'I don't think we know how to live with nature anymore […] I think we in the western world erm, do not live with nature anymore and I think we just trash it basically and that's tragic because once it's trashed we'll never get it back. I mean managing the Culag Woods[98], again, yes that's a small group of people trying to make a beautiful wood that was probably erm, inaccessible or derelict and are trying to make it accessible to other people that maybe can't walk up Suilven, […] I think their motivation's probably quite good, so I don't include them in that, but generally people see nature and they're like 'oh, isn't this gorgeous, let's build a big hotel there or let's build a big house there or you know, what can we do to change it and control it and make it ours,' and it needs to just be, some areas need to just be, otherwise we've lost everything,' (Leah, visitor, Assynt).

Leah strongly argued that there is disconnect between people in the 'western world' and the 'natural' world around them. There is a distinction made between the different cultures that she recognises as being able to live with 'nature' and those which do not. A dichotomy, therefore, is being established between 'nature' and 'culture', specifically western culture. Wylie (2007: 10) has argued that the 'traditional distinction made between 'nature' and 'culture' as two wholly separable realms of existence in many ways merely rephrases the error of dividing landscape up into two fields, into objective facts and layers of subjective meaning.' The following section takes this discussion

[98] The Culag Woods is community-managed woodland leased to the Culag Community Woodland Trust from the Assynt Estates and Highland Council.

further and explores the way that people and culture have shaped the landscape and also how the landscape has shaped people and culture.

7.5.2 'Heritage' and 'culture': flowing through the 'carrying stream'

Citing MacPhail (2007) Mackenzie (2010) argues that the notion of the 'carrying stream' allows for a more fluid and evolving lens on 'culture' which can often challenge a sense of identity in landscape 'as it changes us and, in the process, is also changed by us.' Building on the discussion about the placement of people within the landscape above, this section considers the role of 'heritage' within participants' discussions of landscape management, in particular how interactions between the past, present and future may help to broaden the perception of 'cultural values' and 'heritage' to be more fluid concepts.

The previous sections have identified the potential tension of one 'history' of the landscape being valued above another, for example the 'traditional sporting estate' and association in creating a certain norm around 'wilderness'. The appropriation of heritage can result in tension and challenges and inevitably the exclusion of certain history (Pollock & Sharp 2007). The tension of culture/spectacle is highlighted here with the lived culture, such as the Gaelic communities that once inhabited the Highlands, being represented with 'nostalgia' and 'romance' without necessarily considering the realities of living in the marginal landscapes (MacLean 1986). The following quotation reflects on Applecross and how the landscape influenced it becoming one of the highest Gaelic speaking areas:

> '[Applecross] was the highest Gaelic speaking area outwith the Western Isles in Scotland, erm, largely probably to do with, and the landscape and the culture aren't separate really are they, because a lot of that is it's effectively an island area with the Bealach [high pass] over the top you know,' (Rodney, key informant, local organisation).

Rodney identified Applecross as being similar to an island due to the perceived effort that must be made in order to get to Applecross, either over the high Bealach na Bà pass in the south or the coastal road to the north of the peninsula (see Figure 1-4). Consequently, Rodney argued, that the culture of the people was shaped by the landscape as there was less influence from the 'outside'. The following quotation helps to illustrate the historical uses of the land. Nicholas expressed a connection that people

had through working the landscape in the past and how this has fed in to local, Gaelic place names:

> ‘Now this little bay here is called Òb a’Chonnaidh, the bay of the fuel, or the bay of the firewood and the Gaelic, the local Gaelic dialect chonnaidh is the word for a birch tree, beithe is normally a Gaelic word for birch tree but because people in this part of the world associate it so much with firewood because it burnt so hot, fuel is [the] word for the birch tree […] the links between Applecross of the past and Applecross of the present are still alive in the minds of a lot of the local people, but it’s a link that is being fractured and broken as we go on because the population in changing. You know, I’m not saying that’s a good or a bad thing, I’ve got nothing against people wanting to come in and live here, that’s fantastic but it’s to be aware that the way people interact with the landscape and the heritage and the folklore is changing and it’s only going one way, it’s never going to get stronger unfortunately. So it’s keeping stories like that alive,’ (Nicholas, key informant, local organisation).

For Nicholas a certain degree of loss of cultural heritage is evident, with the change of the population as more people from outwith Applecross settle in the area. This was also reflected in Figure 7-1 and the changing population influencing how the landscapes are now being used in relation to crofting. This is not a distinctly Applecross issue with a similar attitude also encountered in Assynt. The Highlands more broadly is experiencing change in population, with more people, particularly of retirement age moving into the areas, and a decline in the number of younger couples and families either staying or moving in (Skerratt *et al*. 2014; 2012). Nicholas does, however, recognise the positive impacts of people moving into the area but calls for greater awareness of the past culture amongst incomers. Nicholas identifies with the cultural history of the area and the way that the population was closely linked not only to the land but also the sea and argues this identity still has resonance for people who live there today. Nicholas also expresses a slight melancholy around a sense of loss of culture through the changing population within the area. This was similarly expressed in section 5.5.4 about the sense of fear over the landscape changing as the population changes and above by Ross and the death of the last ‘local’ within his local area of Assynt (section 7.4.3). This echoes the discussion on temporality within landscape. There is a tension, however, for an acknowledgement of the past but also not being too focussed on the past that the future is overlooked and the potential for change and development to happen. MacPhail’s concept of the ‘carrying stream’ of an evolving

culture, that still carries with it memories and remnants of the past, but is influenced by the materiality of the landscape in shaping the meanders (changes/developments) within culture.

Looking at culture more broadly, some participants reflected on the links between a closer understanding of culture and the role this plays within landscape management on a more 'everyday' level:

> '…if you go to places where there are big forests and really intact biodiverse woods, everywhere in the world they're inhabited, they're peoples' homes erm, and in fact I think there's a strong correlation between those human communities who are intensively involved in their woods and have … lots of kind of cultural connections and spiritual connections with their woods those will tend to be the woods that are actually in the best ecological nick. So for me the whole thing about woodland folklore and stuff is actually, it's not just some sort of erm, fluffy add on to looking after the woods, I think if we don't, if we don't have that sense of knowledge and culture and artistic inspiration and spiritual connection to the woods, all of that actually adds, adds to our ability to look after it,' (Aisling, local resident, Assynt).

Aisling argued that it was through greater understanding of people's place within landscape – in this case woods – that the ecological condition of the landscape in question might be improved due to a greater awareness of the broader systems at work. Jones (2011c: 163) argues that immersion within landscape permits the engagement 'between the materiality of the landscape and the senses.' The following quotation similarly explores the place of people within landscape in relation to landscape management:

> 'I think what I mean by, when I say err, hesitant to say yes people are part of the landscape erm, this hydroelectric thing for instance they are, they're using the natural resources, they're using what is around them, they're using the environment they've got which is a loch at the top of a hill and an outlet down into the river but into the loch below erm, so yes using that and harvesting that is ingenious for one and yeah two it's beneficial for all concerned but yeah, it's the use of a renewable resources isn't it, without, and if it's managed as it presently is, where they have to clean up after them and make it fit into the landscape and whatnot, can only be good, you know, so using it but not destroying it in the process … mm … I think the mere fact that people manage to stay and live in a landscape like this year round, that's testament to man's ingenuity and creativity. I often see these little

> houses or the ruins of houses, you know, it looks really evident that people used to sort of, move around, so they had cattle they, they may have had a home base or a, you know and then, when they had their cattle they moved them round or they had sheep and maybe went from higher to lower ground or something like that,' (Grant, visitor, Assynt).

Grant again reflects on the presence of past inhabitation within the landscape. This observation of people within landscape acts as a justification of people still being and working the landscape. Though there is also an element of caution – 'using but not destroying it' – that is also recognised. Such discussions around culture and landscape help to demonstrate the more embedded perceptions of the Highlands that have the potential to be played out with regard to how landscapes are then practiced.

7.6 Conclusions

It was the aim of this chapter to identify the ways in which participants engaged with the concepts of 'nature' and 'culture' from a landscape management perspective. By exploring the key management issues, as perceived by the participants, this highlighted a more interconnected relationship between people and the landscape. Through exploring a more 'hybrid' understand of 'nature' and 'culture' it emphasised that these landscapes were lived in and challenged the tension between 'culture' and 'spectacle'. Furthermore it highlighted the 'motion' of landscapes, Whatmore (2000: 268) argues for a 'world in commotion' where the non-human 'emerges within the routine, interweavings of people, organisms, elements and machines.' Approaching landscape management from such a hybrid perspective highlights this more interwoven perspective.

Despite these hybrid discourse, in highlighting the different narratives of nature given by the participants, there remained an element of separation between people and 'nature'. The challenge this poses for landscape management is how this can then be practiced and materialised through landscape management processes, such as enclosing and bounding 'nature' within designation. The research has demonstrated the role of culture and the influence this can have on how a landscape is managed. Participants recognised an interconnected relationship whereby landscapes can be changed and influenced by people but also that landscapes can influence people and the culture of an area as they respond and adapt to the physical conditions.

The chapter has therefore demonstrated how engaging with cultural aspects of landscape enables a much more challenging perspective of ‘landscape’, ‘landscape management’ and how participants felt they related to it. Furthermore, it is through working the landscape that it is produced and practiced. Landscape management requires to be nuanced and adaptive to the local areas - including physical attributes of the area and local population dynamics - in which it is being implemented. This fluid conception of ‘culture’ through the concept of the ‘carrying stream’ (MacPhail 2006) is bound up in a ‘constant negotiation and renegotiation of ‘community’ (Mackenzie 2010: 179). The role of ‘community’ and the way that it is utilised within landscape management and by participants will be explored further in chapter 8. Likewise, chapter 8 considers the practicalities, challenges and logistics of incorporating multiple values (in particular ‘cultural’ values) and engaging more with participants within the landscape management process.

‘Hollow’

Today I found the places
where the deer lay;
lichen-slick rocks,
spindles of birch
trodden
into crushed bracken
and flattened moss.

Torn branches and red bark
ravaged by rutting stags
disturb the homely hollow,
a meeting point of ancient mysteries
reeking of dung and domination.

At night I saw him,
trapped by torchlight,
a slender moon
reclining in his branches.
He stood and faced me out
moving only when I did
slowly
with sullen pride.

And later
between my pea sticks
and the winter lettuce,
a cloven hoof.

Poem by Lavender (local resident, Applecross)

Photograph taken by Merlin Aerial Photography in 2010 and provided by Seb (local resident, Assynt).

8 Culture, community and engagement: practice and potential

8.1 Introduction

The previous analysis chapters have demonstrated how 'landscape' is not 'out there' and viewed objectively. Instead, through exploring the 'lived in' landscape, in particular, through a lens of dwelling (Ingold 2000) they put '*landscaping* first' (Wylie 2007: 11, original emphasis). In this way, Wylie argues 'we should think about practices, habits, actions and events before any separation of 'nature' and 'culture'' (*ibid.*: 11). It is these everyday '*practices* of landscaping' that inform understandings of 'nature' and 'culture' as demonstrated in the previous chapters. Throughout the analysis chapters it has been illustrated that understanding 'landscape' as 'becoming' and always in process challenges the more traditional view that they are static and unchanging entities (Robertson & Richards 2003; Whatmore 2006). It has also been demonstrated that participants have emotional ties to the landscape through personal and shared histories as well as embodied encounters. The challenge this poses for landscape management (as outlined in chapter 3) is how these diverse values and practices might be negotiated if more participative approaches are to be adopted. This chapter will explore the role of participation and engagement within landscape management and so tackle research objective three:

> *To investigate participants' perceived barriers to participation within landscape management and to explore the potential and limitations of 'more-than-visual' methods to overcome these barriers.*

To briefly return to the policy dialogue around participation, the following two quotations taken from the Scottish Land Use Strategy (LUS) and the European Landscape Convention (ELC) argue:

> 'There should be opportunities for all communities to find out about how land is used, to understand related issues, to have a voice in debates, and if appropriate to get involved in managing land themselves,' (Scottish Government, 2011: 25).

Within the ELC, there is recognition of a number of measures that are necessary for its implementations including:

> '… [to] lay down procedures for participation by the general public, local and regional authorities and other interested parties in the formulation and implementation of these policies. Landscape is an issue which affects the whole population and care for the landscape requires collaboration between a wide range of individuals and organisations,' (Council of Europe, 2000: Article 5, 50c.).

Both the quotations identify the desire – in policy rhetoric at least – for greater and broader public participation within the management of land and landscapes. The previous chapter highlighted the complexity with which participants understood landscape management issues, just as chapters 5 and 6 outlined the complex ways in which people experienced and valued landscape. Thus these chapters have begun to illustrate the divergent values of some participants in relation to landscape management. MacDonald (1998) and Mackenzie (2010) have both argued that landscape management within the Highlands of Scotland is also challenged by the divergent agendas of the 'institutional outsider' and 'localised insider'. Likewise, the policy rhetoric, often unproblematically, utilises the term 'community' with an assumption that these are homogenous entities (Taylor Aiken 2014). In reality these can often be multiple 'communities' with different values, agendas and assumptions on landscape management.

Related to this are notions of power and where it is perceived to lie. Often it is assumed to be with the land owners – either more traditional private (family) estates or more recently charitable organisations and local communities (Glass *et al.* 2013c; Skerratt 2013; 2011; Woolvin 2013). Chapter 3 (see section 3.4.1 and Figure 3-4) introduced the concept of the 'virtuous circle', a reciprocal relationship between landscape quality and community quality of life (Powell *et al.* 2002). Glass *et al.* (2013a: 224) have similarly argued for a virtuous circle between community engagement and collaboration. They argue that land owners take on the role of 'partner' with the aim to 'interact with and involve community members on equal terms' (*ibid.*). Both notions of the 'virtuous circle' argue that reciprocal relationships will assist in more sustainable, productive and mutually beneficial actions. Chapter 3 did, however, also highlight the challenges in practice of greater community engagement within landscape management (Blake 1999; Caspersen 2009; Conrad *et al.* 2011). This chapter, therefore, focuses, in particular, on the practicalities of adopting a more participative approach to landscape management and the potential (and challenges) of adopting 'more-than-visual' methods to help facilitate this. The chapter begins by exploring community engagement and the

potential and challenges that it faces from both an individual perspective and key informants[99] (section 8.2). This is then followed by a discussion around the influence of ownership and power, highlighting the extent to which this can place a barrier to participation (section 8.3). The chapter concludes by discussing the feedback events, identifying the challenges and insights that they raised in relation to the methods being adopted in the future, including issues of ethics and representing multiple landscape values in a 'more-than-visual' way (section 8.4).

8.2 Potentials and tensions of community engagement and participation

Community engagement and greater stakeholder participation has previously been highlighted as a key shift in landscape management policy discourse (see chapter 3, section 3.4). Yet the tools through which to engage with local communities (and broader stakeholders) are not always provided in policy implementation documents (Blake 1999; Olwig 2007; Prager *et al.* 2012). Stakeholder engagement can also result in a number of tensions including i) lack of trust within a local community ii) lack of trust with landscape managers (particularly 'outside' organisations 'telling people what to do') and iii) diluted management practices (Keulartz 2009). Promotion of community empowerment 'to stimulate and harness the energy of local people' is an increasingly prevalent theme within the Scottish Government's land-based policies, such as the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2003[100] and the Community Empowerment and Renewal Bill (Glass *et al.* 2013a). Exploring current perceptions of engagement and participation amongst different stakeholders may help to identify how policy may be translated into practice.

Brace & Geoghegan (2010: 296) have argued in relation to climate change that exploring the concept of 'landscape' 'offers [an]… opportunity for engagement and understanding using a scale and rhetoric [that is] accessible' to multiple stakeholder groups from scientists to the general public. Mitchell (1994: 10) has argued, however, that the form of landscape is produced through 'social groups with differing access to power, financial and social resources, and ideological legitimacy, [who] contend over

[99] Key informant interviews were carried out with landscape managers in Applecross and Assynt, including the two landscape partnership schemes; the landowners (Applecross Trust, Assynt Foundation, Culag Community Woodland) and SNH regional officers. The aim of the key informant interviews was to provide a broader organisational context as well as to understand how landscape management is being implemented and practiced within the two case study areas (see section 4.2.3).

[100] The most recent Land Reform (Scotland) Bill was introduced to the Scottish Parliament in June 2015 as part of the Scottish Government's on-going land reform, land ownership and sustainability agendas (Edwards *et al.* 2015).

issues of production and reproduction in place.' The aim of this section is to explore participants' perceptions of community engagement, in particular highlighting the differences between key informants working more directly within landscape management and local resident participants. Furthermore, it will explore the potential and challenges of the approach taken by this research if adopted within the landscape management process.

The section begins by exploring individual perspectives on how and why people wish to get involved with landscape management (section 8.2.1). This is followed by a consideration of the tensions around notions of 'communities' and negotiating the different values that they hold in relation to landscape management (section 8.2.2). The discussion then identifies the barriers to incorporating different values and agendas, particularly through established designation policies (section 8.2.3). Finally the sustainability and legacy of local landscape management groups are discussed, along with the implications this has for landscape management (section 8.2.4).

8.2.1 Individual perspectives on 'getting involved' with landscape management

The participation of multiple stakeholders within landscape management is now promoted as an 'essential ingredient' of the process (Selman 2004: 367). Policy rhetoric around the involvement of local communities within the management process can be recognised in international, national and local scale policy. The ELC and LUS, as demonstrated above, have participation central within the policy documents. Within participatory rhetoric there is often a strong emphasis on collaboration, negotiation, conflict resolution and capacity building (Selman 2004). Casperson (2004) argues for the importance and relevance of participatory approaches at the local scale, due to the gain in knowledge at the local level about the landscape and the 'knowledge of local narratives'. This section explores the perspectives of the participants in relation to participation or 'getting involved' with landscape management. Participants particularly reflected on how participation was linked to their own place within the community and the level of involvement they should take.

Participants were asked how involved they got with landscape management. They were asked why they got (or did not get) involved. The following extract from Sian (local resident, Assynt) is an example of the positive response from some participants:

> **Sian:** Yes, yes definitely err, I feel like you know, err, especially if you, I've been here as an outsider and it feels like I've gotten so much out of it I want to put more energy back in and it (sighs) you know sometimes it takes you a while to realise how you can do that and, so I hope that this was a good opportunity to do that.
>
> **Amy:** Do you think you would want to get involved with the [other local organisations] as well?
>
> **Sian:** I don't know, it depends, as it is I've already got so much going on (laughs) that you have to make choices and err, yeah I really like being part of the community woodlands and also the woodland community somewhere else because I met a few people from there as there are courses that are being done, err which is really nice because you talk to a lot of people in other places and they've got different problems or maybe the same problems, which is good.

Sian indicates a strong feeling of wanting to give back to the community which she feels has given her so much. Sian indicated that having the time to participate can be an issue for her and others but overall there was a positive emotional benefit to being involved with the local management organisations. 'Community', though regarded as a site through which people are included and social capital gained, is also a contested site of interactions, tension and politics (Staeheli 2008). Community can act as a means through which to mobilise a common identity and feeling towards a particular situation, yet inherent within this inclusionary dialogue the potential to exclude others (*ibid*.). In contrast to the positive reactions to engagement, some participants discussed why they would not want to get involved with landscape management:

> 'I like to be where I want to be […] there's no point in me getting involved with things that I can't, I can't do anything about, you know what I mean? […] as long as I can do my things that make me happy then that's fine, you know you don't want a complete overload and just you know sort of get, 'oh this should happen and this should happen,' you know. [Partner is] getting involved [in] a lot of committees and you know doing things and you know this that and the next thing. So and, and gets involved with what we're going to do […] it doesn't affect me then you know I tend to sort of would like to stay away […] I'm probably [as] aware of a lot of things politically as most folk, probably more,' (Ron, local resident, Applecross).

Ron, despite his partner being involved with landscape management wished himself to stay away, feeling that there was no point in him getting involved. His reasons for this

were related to feelings that he would not be able to change anything and so disillusionment and sense of apathy with the process alongside a desire to not get to a point of 'complete overload' shaped his views. There is therefore, an emotional reaction to the engagement process that as well as providing feelings of giving back to a place, such as Sian above, also has the potential to be a much more stressful situation, as with Ron.

In contrast, visitors, spoke of how they felt about getting involved with management. The following quotation by Fraser (visitor, Assynt) is in response to my question about whether he would get involved with management in the area:

> 'No, I think that erm, I was going to with the Assynt Foundation at the start, but I found that really, there's so much time that I'm not here for a start, I think you need to be permanently here […] to have a valid voice, I think unless you're permanently here err, people resent your intrusion erm, rather than value it erm, I think you know you have to make that commitment to be here permanently err, and that would be why I wouldn't.'

Community engagement can thus be an emotional process and these emotions should be acknowledged and considered when undertaking engagement work and more participative approaches. The participatory ethics undertaken as part of this research (see section 4.8) provides a more helpful framework through a continual reflexive process and a need for an awareness of the locational context in which the engagement is taking place (Crang & Cook 2007; Manzo & Brightbill 2007). Though providing the potential to empower communities to be more involved with management and affect local change (Skerratt 2013; Warren & McKee 2011) there is also the potential to alienate other members of the local community who do not feel they have the power to affect change or have apathy towards engagement because change still does not happen. The following section follows on from these individual perspectives on engagement to focus on the influence of 'community' and 'communities'.

8.2.2 Representation and negotiating multiple 'communities'

Reflecting the conflicts and tensions highlighted in the previous chapter – with regard to differing perspectives on Wild Land designation for example – MacDonald (1998) has argued that the Highlands of Scotland and their management can be characterised by contesting cultural politics of the perceived 'native' inhabitants and institutional outsiders. Chapter 3 highlighted a broad distinction between stakeholders, 'communities

of place' and 'communities of interest' (Swanwick *et al.* 2002). It also highlighted Massey's (2006) conceptualisation of place as being open and always an ongoing production. In line with this, Taylor-Aitken (2014) argues that in understanding place in this way 'community' in turn becomes more contested. This section highlights the tension between multiple social groups within the areas as well conflicts with 'outsiders', introduced in the following quotation:

> '…there's so many people who have so many different visions for the future, there's not one vision and err, there's not … you know my vision is no more valid than somebody else's vision of it and what I would like to see maybe isn't what someone else would like to see or what it might end up … but a lot of things happen in all sorts of directions, it's like bubbling full of energy … there's not enough people actually to sustain a lot of these things but quite often they're not pulling in the same direction, even pulling apart, so it's hard to know, it's difficult … but it's exciting to be part of you know,' (Brad, key informant, local organisation).

Brad's awareness of the multiple visions for the future being a response to the different ideas that people have about the landscape reflects Massey's (2006) call for a more fluid understanding of place. When 'place' or in the case of this research 'landscape' is understood to be more fluid, so the community within that will be more fluid. As argued by MacPhail and MacKenzie communities are neither homogenous nor static but flowing. This section discusses the impact of 'community' – or more accurately, 'communities' – as a potential barrier to landscape management and community engagement.

For many of the key informants the introduction of different voices through community engagement workshops that are undertaken by various bodies, such as SNH, in order to meet policy initiatives for greater participation can in practice often result in greater rather than lesser tension:

> '…that was certainly played out, we had a big hydro scheme a number of years ago erm, Shieldaig and that really played out, very starkly, the contrast between people who live and work locally and people outwith and it did, it raised so many of these issues and it got quite nasty at one point because, yeah, it did get quite, well it just played out all of these things, so to start off it was insiders versus outsiders, so anybody who lived in Wester Ross, you know wanted to see this hydro scheme go ahead, and all the economic benefits it would bring, whereas all these people from outwith the area they

> were the ones interfering, who wanted to keep it for their own selfish self, they wanted to keep it for when they came up for two weeks of the year but then it became that some of the people locally who didn't want it but that's because they were outsiders who'd moved in, they were the white settlers! And it went on and on, you ended up when, it was very divisive you know, it started just teasing out all these issues you know, when is a community a community, do you have had to of lived here for generations or just you know, do you bring new ideas, a different perspective, you know it's just a nightmare, but again it's this whole thing about what value and you know what you want to see happen and whether you've got a narrow perspective or a broad perspective, whether you can see other people's point of view and you know, all sorts of things,' (Ashley, key informant, national organisation).

Ashley raises a key question around the potential tensions that can arise through undertaking a more participative approach to landscape management when an assumption is made that a 'community' is a homogenous entity holding the same values and beliefs. Taylor Aiken (2014: 208) likewise argues that policies have the potential to 'officially' produce a certain vision of community and this is inherently fostered with a top-down structure. The consequence of which is a 'normalisation' of 'community' which is at its most effective as a 'community of place (bounded, topographical and neo-Euclidean)' (*ibid.*: 217). Those outwith the bounded, localised community are thus on the outside. It is through this narrow vision of community that tensions can be created and the exclusion of some from what are meant to be more participative practices takes place (Staeheli 2008; Taylor Aiken 2014). Ashley keenly stressed throughout the interview the difficulties that she faced when conducting community workshops in order to consult with communities about projects they were undertaking and the often divisive comments that people within the audience were making. This echoes Keulartz (2009) and Lorimer (2000) who argue that different visions of 'nature' and the different knowledge that people have can influence how they feel it should be managed as discussed in chapter 7. This raises challenges around the use of the term 'local community' within policy documents as it does not acknowledge the different social 'communities' and the sometimes divergent views that can exist as expressed in the following quotation:

> '…you've got people talking about "the Applecross community" but actually there is no "Applecross community", it's communities, as again anywhere else, so you've got crofters for example but then you know within

> the crofting group you could have indigenous crofters, you could have people that have come in, you could have people that have sheep, you could have people that do something else you could have people that are absentee crofters, people that live there, young crofters, old crofters, it's a whole erm, then there are people that do drink, people that don't drink you know, it's a whole list of people, it's a very diverse mixture of people, I would say,' (Warren, key informant, local organisation).

Warren therefore illustrates the complexity presented by use of the term 'local community'. He also demonstrates the challenge of defining groups, and groups *within* groups, describing the diversity between crofters that might otherwise have been assumed to have homogenous values and agendas. Negotiating and reconciling these differences thus remains a challenge for landscape managers who wish to adopt the more participative and inclusive guidelines of the ELC and LUS (Conrad *et al.* 2011). The potential and challenges of the methods used within this study to assist these negotiations is discussed further in section 8.4.

It is not only the different social groups and their associated perspectives that may result in tensions but also who organises the meetings. As an 'outsider' organisation Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH) can be regarded with a certain level of suspicion by local residents due to the restrictions that can be imposed through policies that they are implementing. Regional SNH officers reflected on this within their interviews:

> 'We've had various organisations refuse to talk to us, which is fine, we've sat in meetings that have been very uncomfortable erm, had all sorts of accusations thrown at us but I think that is, part of the job sometimes,' (Hannah, key informant, national organisation).

Some of these accusations are a consequence of the institutional context that SNH must work within. Conrad *et al.* (2011) similarly identified that there is mistrust and cynicism by the wider public with regards to public consultation mechanisms due to a feeling of powerlessness to affect change, such as Ron quoted in section 8.2.1. Louise went on to identify, however, that the 'top-down' approach that SNH adopts is a result of the different scales of governance and designation by policies at both national and international level:

> 'I'm doing a sort of top-down aren't I, so I'm very much driven by what's, what is protected and then trying to make sure that decisions that are made about those areas are the correct ones. So we're more interested in more and

> more information to try and help that decision-making process but they are, sort of designations that great men of true (unclear) have come up with in the past in terms of what's important, what we should be valuing,' (Louise, key informant, national organisation).

Louise recognises the potential barrier of previous designation mechanisms and the process of how they were implemented, to the more participative and inclusive rhetoric that is now being used institutionally. There is, therefore, a certain level of reconciliation within organisations (as well as between different stakeholders) with the different practices of management. For these organisations there are different considerations, therefore, that must be taken into account. These often conflict with more locally-based agendas, as detailed in the previous chapters. The following section now focusses on these different priorities that landscape management organisations must take into account.

8.2.3 Landscape designation: protection or barrier?

As identified in chapter 3, both Applecross and Assynt have landscapes within them that have been designated for their scenic quality. Chapter 2 discussed the issues around the 'spatialisation of nature' through designations and the impact this can have on understandings of what 'nature' is and how it is experienced. Watts (2004: 51) argues that the enclosure of 'nature' is 'a process by which nature and society is simplified and ordered'. Yet as has been demonstrated in chapters 5 to 7 though management can influence how landscapes are experienced, these experiences are also informed on an individual scale drawing on the history, previous experiences and emotions of the individual. As discussed in chapter 7, however, in relation to Wild Land, landscape designation often provides mixed responses from local residents, in particular, on how they experience the landscape. This section explores the role of designation specifically from an institutional perspective and how this may impact on the ways that landscapes are managed and the challenges this poses.

Many key-informants discussed the broader influences on what and how landscape is managed, particularly in terms of designations:

> '…where there's a designated site then you'd get very much involved erm, when the landscape is designated so, Applecross we do have some involvement and certainly would be commenting on some aspects of development, but you know, in terms of the hierarchy it's not such a focus

> as if it was, you know a designated site,' (Cassie, key informant, national organisation).

Cassie uses the term 'hierarchy' in relation to management, in particular in terms of the organisation's involvement with management within the case study area. Here designated land influenced the amount of involvement they would have and in contrast to Assynt, much less of the Applecross area is designated, thus making the organisation's involvement or influence over management relatively more limited. As a comparison, the following quotation from the national organisation key informant in the Assynt area, discussed their views on why Assynt has designated land:

> 'Well I think the main thing with the Assynt area is you've sort of alluded to is that the landscape and everything is so brilliant up there, it's lovely and part of the reason it's so lovely is because it's got quite a high, well it's got very high biodiversity and wildlife value, so when erm, and I suppose because it is fairly remote as well, when we were looking at setting up a series of Sites of Special Scientific Interest, Assynt received quite a few of them and on top of that there's a European layer of designation which is Special Areas of Conservation and Special Protection Areas, so it really identifies that the biological value of the area is extremely high, and that's probably linked in a lot to the cultural side of things to, how the land has historically been managed and the remoteness of it…' (Roslyn, key informant, national organisation).

Roslyn indicates the levels of protection that influence the decisions made in relation to managing the land, in particular highlighting the European 'layer of designation'. This 'hierarchical priority' will consequently have an impact on the way that landscapes are managed on a more local scale. It remains a more top-down approach which can create tension between the local 'insider' discourse on landscape compared to an institutional 'outsider' discourse. This reflects the 'information deficit' participatory model identified in chapter 3, where the public is regarded as being 'ill equipped to take decisions and actions' (Bulkeley & Mol 2003: 148). Consequently information is provided by those with the knowledge to encourage more 'rational' responses to management and participation (Macnaughten & Jacobs 1997). MacDonald (1998: 239) argues this creates a 'cultural politics' with a 'perceived statutory implication' that those living within these areas are unable to manage the land themselves. Furthermore, this could cause a challenge to more inclusive management practices and is discussed further in section 8.3. Stenseke and Jones (2011: 306) likewise argue there is a

widespread perception that nature conservation is primarily a matter concerned with biology and so can only be undertaken by those trained in conservation biology. Furthermore, they argue that this perception of conservation is in tension with the definition of landscape within the ELC which is much more fluid and related to perceptual understandings of landscape than that of an ecological definition:

> 'From an ecological point of view, a landscape often functions as a scale measure related to the movement of different organisms, usually within a set area and including components such as heterogeneity and habitat mosaics. However, during the last decade, what appears to be a more holistic 'landscape perspective' has been launched in ecological and environmental research and practice' (*ibid.*).

This demonstrates the potential issue of tensions between different scales and layers of management and landscape protection measures. Past management practices were based on more 'ecological' definitions of landscape compared to the more participative and cultural values focussed model that is characterising more recent landscape policy. The priority given to designated land, and the values it has been designated for, raises challenges for this research and the extent to which more embodied and arts-based methods could be adopted into management practice, given the constraints on managers around such designations. The breadth and variety of the discussions in the previous chapters highlight that 'value' cannot be easily defined or articulated which may result in more complex strategies being needed in order to keep the management process moving. Due to the complexity of these stakeholder 'values' the hierarchy that exists within landscape policy initiatives could effectively overrule what has been identified through the methods:

> '…the other big conflict that comes in, is [that] to protect any trees that are going in you need to really put a deer fence up and a deer fence has landscape implications, so there's another conflict coming in, you know, we want the trees but we also want the nice landscape, so we've got two policies there that sort of sit, err, a little bit difficult sometimes to try and find err, a way through it, ideally you'll do trees with no fencing but we can't and it's impossible with the number of deer we have in Scotland these days. So yes, it is quite a difficult sometimes to follow through and particularly when the people are passionate about it and have aspirations to do something and those aspirations might be very valid and extremely well thought out but unfortunately, they're trying to do it on a designated site which has been designated for something else and err, yes, it's, it does make

> it quite difficult sometimes, quite tricky, you have to be diplomatic. We try and sometimes we don't bother, you have to be a bit firm,' (Valerie, key informant, national organisation).

Valerie recognised the different views that can be expressed when incorporating different stakeholders, in this example in relation to trees and deer (see Figure 7-2), but these can sometimes conflict with designations and priorities already in place. Despite engaging with different stakeholders, she still argues that they need to be diplomatic with how this is negotiated, suggesting that at times there's a need to 'be a bit firm'. The previous sections have demonstrated that those directly involved with landscape management have identified the shift that has occurred around the desire for greater participation and engagement with multiple stakeholders within policy rhetoric. Yet in practice tensions can result when trying to negotiate different values, priorities and often emotions of different stakeholders. The following section explores the sustainability and legacy of management organisations and how the role of 'culture' and stakeholder participation fits in with this.

8.2.4 'You can't eat landscape': sustainability and legacy

Chapter 3 highlighted the call for a 'culture change' within landscape management organisations to encourage and embed community engagement within management practices (Scott & Shannon 2007). Skerratt (2011) recognises the role of revenue streams to help fund and sustain local community organisations. If local organisations are to engage with local communities, they need to be able to fund themselves to continue. This was a key aspect identified by a number of the locally situated organisations who, in particular, were reliant on grant funding to undertake project work. Likewise, the Landscape Partnership Schemes[101] (LPS), involved actively with landscape management within Applecross and Assynt identified the same issue, alongside a need to create a legacy of the group and the projects undertaken. Clarke *et al.* (2011) have identified the financial (un)sustainability of landscape partnerships, particularly of the individual partner organisations, as a principle challenge facing the schemes. Alongside this is an acknowledgement that the 'landscape partnership approach presents particular challenges in terms of leadership and coordination' (*ibid*.: 5). This section, therefore, will explore the issue of sustainability and legacy and the

[101] Landscape Partnership schemes are collaborative landscape management organisations that helps to facilitate partnerships between different local, regional and national organisations. They are outlined fully in section 3.4.2.

impact this has on the ability of landscape managers to undertake more projects that could incorporate the role of culture within management practices as well as community engagement work. In so doing this section will critique the potential of exploring cultural values within landscape management practices.

The sustainability of local community groups – stand-alone organisations and the LPS - was reflected upon by all those participants involved with these groups, and often this was discussed in a monetary way:

> 'Well it's that old thing isn't it, you can't eat landscape! Erm, so we want to be able to stay here and look at it so we have to look ways of staying here so that's our big drive I suppose really,' (Dawn, key informant, local organisation).

This raised a key question about this particular project and its focus on more cultural aspects of management. Parallels can be drawn with the discussions around 'hierarchical priority': for many groups involved with managing landscapes they are supported primarily through grants rather than sustained revenue generation. As such the management activities they are able to engage with are determined by the grants that they win.

Both areas had LPSs; the Applecross Landscape Partnership Scheme (ALPS) and Coigach and Assynt Living Landscape (CALL). During the research the ALPS scheme was reaching the end of the funding stream and bringing the project to a close. In comparison the CALL group was just beginning and had received a major grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund[102] (HLF) to continue with the project in late 2013/early 2014. As a result of the two partnerships being at different stages it was possible to gain some insight into how the projects have been received by those living in the areas, in terms of both expectations and experience:

> 'I suppose the question with all these schemes is, what is the legacy? How do you keep these things going when the money stops? And realistically there's a limit to what you can do but it falls back on the Trust [private land owner] to maintain what's been done, so we've got to maintain the paths, we've got to maintain the interpretation erm, we've got to maintain the website, do all these things for a ten year period, so there's an obligation to

[102] Large grants, ranging from £0.5m - £1.96million, for Landscape Partnership Schemes are applied for and granted through the Heritage Lottery Fund (Clarke *et al.* 2011: 1).

> keep these things going and then there's the need to employ people to do that,' (Niall, key informant, local organisation).

The questions that Niall raises directly echo those identified above by Clarke *et al.* (2011). The LPSs incorporate people and culture as part of their application system. The schemes, therefore, often have projects within them that acknowledge the cultural heritage of the areas, such as Clachan Church in Applecross. One participant linked the incorporation of 'culture' within the schemes to acknowledging the identity of a place:

> 'I think that's where these landscape partnership projects have been quite good because again, although, it's actually not people suddenly deciding, 'God I love Applecross so much I must do something,' it is there is an opportunity to lock into money that will help you do things, but equally I think it has been a very positive project and I quite like the idea that it's had this sort of cultural [aspect] as well as the landscape, as well as the ecology, so it's very much about identity and it's what people, see. And yes, it does relate back doesn't it, always to the history, you know about how people came, what they saw, how they settled,' (Anita, key informant, national organisation).

For Anita the ability to 'lock' funds in relation to the culture and history of Applecross was a way of highlighting and preserving the historical identity of the place. Just as argued by Swensen *et al.* (2013: 206) such acts 'are not necessarily just intangible stories but are based on material objects or related to specific places. They are neither just personal nor individual, but related to common places important for a town's identity and character'.

When asked about cultural values within landscape management, many involved in local organisations would talk about it being interesting but that the reality for them was it was a challenge to sustain the organisation and so deliver projects that would help them to do so. Dawn argues this above and it is seen again in the quotation below:

> '[name of settlement] is just on the edge of our land and that end of the estate is where there's the best arable land erm, which would be the best for crofting and one of our, visions really was to open up land for crofting so that people could move back and live on the land and it would really be the land of the people, we haven't done it yet, partly because it's a political minefield, erm, and you have to make decisions about whom [sic] gets the crofts, how to portion the land and all that, so that's kind of one factor in it but the other factor is that crofting doesn't make the [organisation] much

> money, we get rents but they're not very high rents and you don't want them to be, so it's not really a very good income stream [and we] desperately need money to keep going,' (Nina, key informant, local organisation).

Money can therefore be a major driver of the type of management which is undertaken, closely linked to the imperative for these groups to continue to function in their role as landscape managers. The following section focusses on the role of power in relation to ownership and how this influences the engagement of local 'communities' within landscape management.

8.3 Landlords, 'mini landlordism' and community buyouts: power and ownership

The ownership of land in Scotland, and the historical shift of ownership from small communal townships to larger, private agricultural and sporting estates remains a sensitive issue (Toogood 2003). Many of the political issues that surround land ownership today – who owns the land and how the land is owned – can be directly linked back to this change in land ownership patterns. As identified in chapter 3 (section 3.4.3) land ownership in Scotland remains an emotive and politically contentious issue. There have been a number of Land Reform Acts with the aim of removing land-based barriers to a 'more sustainable Scotland,' (Hoffman 2013: 292). A recent report by the Land Reform Review Group Land Reform Review Group (2014):

> '[understands] land as a finite resource, and explores how the arrangements governing the possession and use of land facilitate or inhibit progress towards achieving a Scotland which is economically successful, socially just and environmentally sustainable.'

Post Land Reform has seen the previous domination of a dualistic pattern of landownership between private and state ownership to a more pluralistic model of ownership, including communities and conservation charities (Warren & McKee 2011). Applecross and Assynt reflect this change in ownership with Applecross now under Trust ownership (although there is still a strong involvement of the original private landowner) and Assynt having a mix of ownership including community land trusts, small private estates and charity owned land.

Notions of power were fundamental to many discussions around landscape management, particularly, the question of who is perceived to have power throughout the management process and decision making. Conrad *et al.* (2011) have identified that

there are often feelings of powerlessness and indifference within local communities resulting in a cynical attitude towards community engagement for landscape management. An underlying aspect of these discussions around management and power was the nature of ownership of the two areas. This section, therefore, focuses on how participants discussed power and ownership and the influence this had on their participation within landscape management. It begins by exploring ownership of the land through private ownership, crofters and community buyouts and the subsequent relationships that emerge with the wider community as a result of this. It then discusses the role of landscape partnership schemes as a (potential) bridge between owners, managers and 'community' and the perception participants have of the schemes.

The following quotation discusses the process through which people can own a number of crofts and the problems identified with this process in restricting young, potential croft owners:

> '… problem is most of the crofts are being snapped up by actual crofters who don't really need them 'cos they've got enough, they just get a little bit greedy […] (sighs) I think a lot of things need to be changed, I don't mind people owning land although there is the argument that nobody should have the right to own any part of land on the face of the planet 'cos it's not ours, animals have got just as much right to it as we do erm, but you're never going to change that and what I would do up here especially with the crofts is have a maximum amount or percentage of land that one person can own or it's not necessarily owning it as well – see these crofters they don't necessarily own the land they just have the right to use it but then nobody else can use it and you can pay x amount of money to de-croft that land so that then it is yours and you can build on it and fence it off and things, erm, yeah it is getting a little bit daft with the, with the local crofters if anything comes up,' (Rita, visitor, Assynt).

It became apparent in both case study areas that it was not strictly ownership that was the main issue and challenge but power and, more specifically, where power was perceived to lie. In Applecross the Applecross Trust still maintained a lot of the control and power over landscape management decisions and community life more generally. The Board, with whom power to make decisions on how the area is managed lies, is chaired by a member of the family who owned the estate before it became a charitable trust and other individuals who had previously worked on the estate. There was not a member of the local community on the Trust's board. There was consequently a lack of

confidence within the wider community to voice their opinions on how the estate should be managed. In contrast in Assynt, being largely community owned, there was more interaction from the various community-ownership organisations (The Assynt Foundation, Culag Community Woodland Trust, North Assynt Estate and Coigach-Assynt Living Landscape) in gaining the opinions of the community on how the landscape should be managed. Yet despite this, many participants in Assynt described that they felt they weren't being asked, and that management within the area was dominated by those that had the time and money to be able to volunteer to be on the boards of the community trusts. This challenge was similarly found by Skerratt (2011) in her analysis of community trusts that had been established for over five years. Hayley (local resident, Assynt) reflected on the frustration she felt because of this lack of representation:

> '…the land was taken from my family. It wasn't that it was, you know they just moved, they didn't, it was taken from them. And now that we've got the land back, it's in the hands of people who have no appreciation of that and no tie with the land and all they see is somewhere to indulge their hobbies, which is bird watching and you know sort of, flora and. Nothing wrong with that but if it's to the exclusion, you know crofting was always, co-existed very nicely, the crofting methods have coexisted with, erm, ecologies, they've gone hand in glove, it's no coincidence that the corncrake has the, the only place you'll see a corncrake or hear a corncrake is in the crofting areas. You know, I, yeah I find it very frustrating.'

What Hayley discusses above has resonance with Mackenzie (2010: 178) who highlights that landscape designations, though protective in their intention, can often actually challenge a long-held self-image of crofting as being 'responsible custodianship of the land.' For Hayley, the land that has been taken away is part of her identity and her own – family – history, for her, this has been taken away again by those who wish to 'protect' it. Despite coming under community ownership, where there is the perception that land is given back into the control of their local communities, Hayley highlights a frustration that this has not been a reality for her. Indeed, a question is still raised about who the 'community' is and what the land is seen to be 'for' still remains a challenging and relevant question to explore in relation to landscape management. Hayley went on to discuss community ownership more broadly:

> 'I've been very sort of idealistic in what […] I suppose, born of ignorance really, but the more I see of how things work and the more I get involved

> with it, the more completely cynical I become, erm and erm, as people said beforehand, before the buyout, well you know you need someone like the Vesteys [previous private land owning family] because they can manage to run the damn thing erm, and, whereas we're numb constantly, all you do, you're not making money for the community like, it's wild, all these unspoilt areas, look how much money you're going to make for the community, it's going to you know, and realise entrepreneurial ambition and all that's crap. Sorry it's crap. When it comes down to it, you need money. You need to put the investment in. You can't just own the land, you need to invest in it. And you can't be tied, have your hands, both hand[s], almost both hands and a leg tied behind your back, erm, as you do with the, as the management agreements that you've got to make with people to get the money' (original emphasis).

The quotation above from Hayley highlights a number of issues that were raised through the discussions around power and ownership in relation to the management of the landscape. These include; disillusionment and cynicism of the process; who has the ultimate decision (and so power) and investment of money and time. It illustrates how interconnected power and ownership are within the landscape management process. Hayley was not necessarily seeking for the land to be owned again by a single landlord but, similarly to Nicholas above with the respect to the loss of cultural heritage, she sought greater understanding of the role of people within the evolution and development of landscapes. Furthermore Hayley highlights that it is not always the 'institutional outsider' that can impose views on local communities but also different social groups within the local community that can be perceived to be 'imposing' particular beliefs onto others. This point was also identified by Henry:

> '[…] there was a suggestion that the Assynt Crofters Trust should have one erm, non-crofter director on the board, and they wouldn't have it. So you're, in effect you're, prevented from having any input into the whole north Assynt estate which is from here round to Achmelvich. Erm, I'm not bothered about that but, I thought there, they might have been wise to be more inclusive err, of, because there are more incomers than locals and more and more. So if we don't have cooperation we're going to have something else instead which won't be as good,' (Henry, local resident, Assynt).

Community ownership as a model of ownership emerged as an underlying issue for landscape management within both case study areas. For Applecross participants,

community ownership was spoken of as a potential future outcome but remains a complicated issue with different views over it:

> ‘By the end of the walk though talking quite animatedly about the ownership issue they [the local participant] chose to turn the Dictaphone off and just say it to me. They then said I could use it to inform the project but not quote them directly […] I think the most interesting aspect of this part of the interview was that although they were unhappy with how the Trust is managing the land he wasn’t strictly saying that community ownership was the way forward but more ‘simply’ community representation was needed on the board of trustees […] There was a tension and frustration there, which I really felt that he wants to make the land more productive for people to live there […] but there are ownership problems and – significantly – social/community problems that inhibit this,’ (Diary extract, Applecross, 19/7/2013).

Glass, *et al.* (2013b) argue that traditional family-owned estates are beginning to move from a more ‘paternalistic’ approach to the role of ‘partner’ within landscape management. Within Applecross this was seen to the extent that the Trust was one of the partners within the Landscape Partnership scheme (ALPS). In practice, however, there was still tension that existed between the Trust and the local community, particularly around how much representation the community had in relation to landscape management decision making. Underlying these discussions was the extent to which the land owners (and management organisations) communicated to the local community about management plans and issues related to the area. Many participants in Applecross commented on some improved communication between the Trust and the community as a result of the ALPS scheme. In comparison in Assynt, there were some that argued CALL did not communicate enough about what they were doing. As outlined in chapter 3, effective communication between landscape managers (and land owners) remained a key underlying issue.

In Assynt, for those who moved in to the case study area community ownership was often spoken about as a positive aspect of why they moved there:

> ‘…that was one of the things that attracted me to coming up here was the fact that the crofters had done a buyout and the people owned the land because I feel very strongly about that, that the land should belong to you know, and then in 2005, so that was two years after I moved here, the

> [second] community buyout happened, in south Assynt,' (Wendy, local resident, Assynt).

Wendy demonstrates a positive attitude to the buyouts that have happened in Assynt and that one – the North Assynt Crofters Trust – had attracted her to move to the area as it reflected the kind of life that she wanted to have. This was also reflected by those who were in the area at the time of the buyout:

> 'I never look at a landscape without thinking, what are they growing there, what are they doing there and erm, is it being used to its full potential … you look at the vegetation in a completely different light erm, especially … from the time of the purchase, thinking about what we would do and why we're buying this land, why not let another land owner just have all the hassle, err, because we want to make it better and we want to make it available to the locals … we should be using the land more instead of leaving it to go wild, whatever the heck that means erm, you know we could be using it, we could be improving habitat for the wildlife as well at the same time, to use it in the way that people want to use it,' (Michaela, local resident, Assynt).

Michaela felt strongly that through owning the land she had a greater opportunity to see the land being used to the 'full potential', reflecting some of the discussion in section 7.4 in relation to productive and non-productive narratives of nature. Some participants who had lived in the case study areas all of their lives and/or have had family living there for generations reflected not only on changes in land ownership, but also local knowledge of the land:

> '[…] that generation could tell you minutely to the yard who owned what bit of ground or who rented what bit of ground, that's all gone now and leads to anguish and upset whenever you know somebody tries to get an apportionment or you know tries to build a house and that bit belongs to me and that bit belongs to somebody else and you end up with, wholly unnecessary disputes because the patterns of land use were broken and the way people interacted with the land was broken,' (Jay, local resident, Applecross).

Within both case study areas there was an underlying tension over who has ownership of the land and the consequences of that ownership. Jay identifies that it is now less clear who owns different parts of the land, and more difficult to understand how to gain ownership of different parts of the land.

There were questions raised instead over the ability and confidence of the community to own and manage the land of Applecross due to the wide differences of opinions felt by the people who live there. What became apparent through talking to participants around issues of ownership was the integration of people with management. Accepting these challenges that exist to help engender a culture of participation and engagement with landscape management. The following section focusses specifically on the feedback events undertaken in this project, identifying the potential of the methods and approach as well as issues raised for such a process to be undertaken as part of management processes in the future.

8.4 Creating 'spaces' for discussion

The complexity of values in relation to landscape, along with the in-depth consideration of individual experiences and encounters with(in) landscapes highlights the potential this knowledge has to inform landscape management practices. There remains, however, the challenge of how to articulate this data to multiple audiences. Glass *et al.* (2013) argue that landscape management requires more participatory approaches that are reflective, collaborative and transparent between all stakeholders. In this way, they argue, there is the potential for all voices to be heard and issues to be negotiated openly within the management process. Furthermore it has been argued that greater engagement with communities can help towards more resilient communities and sustainable cultures in relation to management practices (Skerratt 2013; 2011; Stephenson 2008; Woolvin 2013). As highlighted in previous sections of this chapter, however, there remain challenges with community engagement work including, institutional, social, cultural, economic and political barriers alongside being able to translate this complexity to inform management practices.

Selman *et al.* (2010: 8-9) have argued that more 'imaginative engagement approaches' have the potential to complement other participatory methods as well as offering experiences that are 'enjoyable and rewarding'[103]. Citing their example of imaginative engagement within a community engagement project with river basin restoration, they argue there was evidence of an increased capacity to engage with the restoration work intended on the river basin through building knowledge, strengthening emotional ties,

[103] This research is part of a growing number of examples of more interactive, collaborative and participative approaches to landscape management tested in Scotland, for example the DELPHI method which provides a framework for sustainable upland estate management (see Glass *et al.* 2013b) and the NEAT Tree (Scott *et al.* 2014; see also Neat Tree 2015).

'demystifying' the planning process amongst 'non-professionals' and 'stimulating a deeper awareness of local meanings and appropriate modes of communication' (*ibid.*). There was, therefore, a two way flow of knowledge, from the managers about how the restoration would work and from the participants in relation to local knowledge. This links back to the discussion in chapter 3 and the 'civic model' of participation which emphasises trust between all stakeholders and creating access to the decision-making process (Bulkeley & Mol 2003). The aim of this section is to critically engage with the feedback events and explore the potential and limitations of the approach adopted. The section begins by outlining the approaches taken to feeding back the material visually, providing a summary of the organisation and content of the events. The discussion then turns to consider the strengths and limitations of such an approach within more participatory landscape management practices. The section concludes by providing feedback from the participants about the methodological approach, highlighting the potential of such methods but also the difficulties that still emerge, including the ethical and emotional considerations of such an approach.

Due to the semi-participatory nature of the research time was allocated to return to both case study areas to provide feedback (see Table 4-1). The aim of this was to present the findings from the interviews and the arts-based methods and begin to explore how these more-than-visual methods could be used as part of the landscape management process. Alongside this, there was also the opportunity for those who took part in the research and other local residents to reflect on the findings and provide some feedback. The outcomes of the walking and arts-based methods were presented as a display for people to come and look at both prior and after the presentation of the research findings (Figure 8-1). The complexity identified through the walking interviews, arts-based methods and key informant interviews in relation to understandings of 'landscape' and landscape management was something I wished to address through the display. Consequently it was organised only roughly into different thematic sections[104]:

1. *Outline of study and policy context*;

[104] The display allowed for the development of the structuring of the thesis as it represented the initial analysis of the interviews and arts-based methods.

Figure 8-1: Images showing the layout of the display. The top image is the display in Applecross, the bottom image is the display in Assynt.

2. *Visual landscape* (focussing on how participants described the landscapes in the case study areas, highlighting the 'more-than-visual' nature of these descriptions);
3. *Being-in-the-landscape and emotional landscapes* (exploring the multiple experiences described by the participants and highlighting the immersive and embodied experiences participants described);
4. *Management issues: complex and interconnected* (highlighting the key landscape management issues identified by the participants, including the more material management issues alongside those of power and representation within landscape management;
5. *Conclusions* (these were the initial conclusions based on the analysis that had been completed at that stage).

The sections were displayed vertically but due to the overlap between many of the sections there was not a clear delineation between the sections horizontally (see Appendix 7 for close up photographs of the display material). This was done purposefully to also suggest the interconnected nature of the experiences of landscape with the management of them. Material from the arts-based methods and the interviews formed the bulk of the display, with smaller posters explaining what the section was showing. The priority given to the quotations and arts-based materials was done to allow the voices of the participants and their experiences to come through more strongly than my own, thus fitting with the overall semi-participatory approach of the research.

Overall there was a positive response to the feedback events. Many attendees commented that they liked or enjoyed the photographs, art-works and comments from the interviews. On a practical level, some attendees to the Assynt feedback event, however, did express that the display could have been spread across more boards, with one attendee describing it as 'bitty'. In comparison those in Applecross – where the boards were much bigger – expressed that they felt the display was clear. Having the space therefore, in order to display the work and for people to move around and engage with it should be a consideration when organising such events, particular as many attendees in both areas would have liked more art-work and more stories/quotations being incorporated within the display.

Both feedback events were attended by 11 to 16[105] people, including people who participated in the research and people who had not. Caspersen (2009) similarly reflects on public meetings organised for research on public participation as part of landscape character assessments. For the purposes of their research the number of people that took part was felt by the researchers to be small with around 10-15 local stakeholders in attendance. An issue that arose through undertaking the feedback events was a question over how far it is possible to attract and encourage people within the communities to attend and participate in this kind of meeting. It has previously been discussed (section 8.2.1) that some participants of this research highlighted that they did not necessarily want to participate within issues to do with landscape management because of the politics and consequent tensions that can arise as a result. Different methods were employed to advertise the event in order to try and encourage as many people as possible, including posters (Appendix 2), local social media channels and contacting research participants directly. As with Caspersen, however, these feedback events were not attended by all of the participants including some landscape managers and owners and those who had articulated that they do not attend such events. There is, therefore, still a challenge of capturing the different stakeholders with these public events. Caspersen also highlights that those that did attend their workshops were largely already engaged in some way with management and had already expressed an interest in cultural heritage and nature. Direct parallels can be drawn with this research with those who did attend, though not always directly involved with the management of the landscape, had a strong interest of the management. Therefore, although the attendance of the events was a mix of participants and non-participants there is the potential for some voices to be lost. It is worth noting, however, that due to time being spent in Applecross and Assynt and the walking interviews being conducted beforehand, those who may not want to attend can still have their values and voices heard through their inclusion within the display:

> '[…] also I do have this thing of trying not to get involved with things that I don't know too much about erm, doing this I've probably enjoyed this because you've made it feel so relaxed and erm, I don't necessarily need to have err, the right words to express what, or err, a name for everything that I'm talking about erm, so that's really good, and I'm doing something I like

[105] In Applecross 12 people attended the presentation with around an extra 6 coming in to just look at the display, the total number is not exact as there was another event on at the same time as the presentation with people moving between the two. In Assynt a similar number attended the presentation, 11, with an extra 4 coming in just to see the display.

> anyway. Had you said let's sit down at a table with coffee I may have given you ten minutes,' (Jackson, visitor, Assynt).

One participant also reflected on their walk about people participating specifically with heritage projects, and that the key was to make people feel confident in their values and so being able to voice them:

> '…once you have a base of a project and you have some results to show people, others then become a little bit more confident about valuing their history and their heritage. If you put out a general call, saying I want information […] you might get two responses, but if you go out and target people and you target twenty people you might get seven responses but then once people see that it's worthwhile and the project is working then they want to contribute more and so it's about helping people to see a value in their own heritage, it's something that's long been battered out of people in the Highlands,' (Brian, local resident, Applecross).

Parallels can be drawn with this research, that if something similar was to be conducted again, more time would need to be spent interacting with those who came, for it to be more workshop orientated than just presenting back findings. Selman (2004) has argued that there needs to be a broader culture change at the national level where collaboration and participatory action is the norm as community participation is more likely to prevail under this climate. In order to achieve this however, the resources (time, money and person time) also need to be in place within these organisations to be able to take place as outlined in section 8.2.4.

Those who attended the feedback events were asked to fill in a short feedback form about the display (see Appendix 8 for a copy of the form). The forms completed along with notes taken of the discussion that took place after the presentation provide a number of insights into the potential of adopting a similar approach in the future. For many they saw the display as a catalyst for further discussion:

> 'Very useful, good to start with people and then move to policy' (Assynt attendee).

> 'Good starting point and catalyst' (Applecross attendee).

Some attendees, however, expressed disappointment not to have been involved in the research with one attendee feeding back, 'I wish I had been someone you walked with,' (Assynt attendee). Similarly expressed by an Applecross attendee, 'I missed out last

time, I would have loved to have been involved or be involved in the future'. On the one hand this highlights an interest within the communities to get involved with issues around the landscape, however, on the other there is also a critique of how people were recruited for the research. It would not have been practical or necessary to have interviewed all the local residents within Applecross and Assynt as part of the research. There is a question, however, about communicating that the research was taking place to reach a wider audience from the local areas.

The ethical considerations undertaken as part of the research process[106] became particularly evident during the development and undertaking of the feedback events. Section 4.8.1 highlighted the issue of independence as a researcher within emotional and potentially socially sensitive research. It has already been highlighted that landscape still remains a highly emotive issue within the Highland (and Islands) of Scotland. Due to the sensitive nature of some of the discussions that were had during the interviews the question of anonymity was particularly pertinent. For the display (as well as this thesis) the approach was adopted to use anonymised pseudonyms for every quotation used, even when some may be from the same participant. One attendee at the Applecross feedback event commented on the anonymity of the display materials in their feedback:

> 'I like that the comments were anonymous as then people can speak freely' (Applecross attendee).

Looking at this more broadly there is an issue around ethics and trust between myself as a researcher and the participants (and attendees of the events) to maintain – as far as possible – the anonymity and confidentiality of those who have taken part. When discussing such emotive and sensitive issues around landscape management, creating an environment within which these emotions can be expressed freely and constructively is vital in order to work towards a collective resolution.

8.5 Conclusions

Cronon (1995a: 56) argues that '…this nature about which we argue so much, is also among the most important things we have in common. That is why we care so much about it.' Drawing on the quotations and discussion from all of the analysis chapters there is a clear emotional response to landscapes. Despite a common emotional tie to the

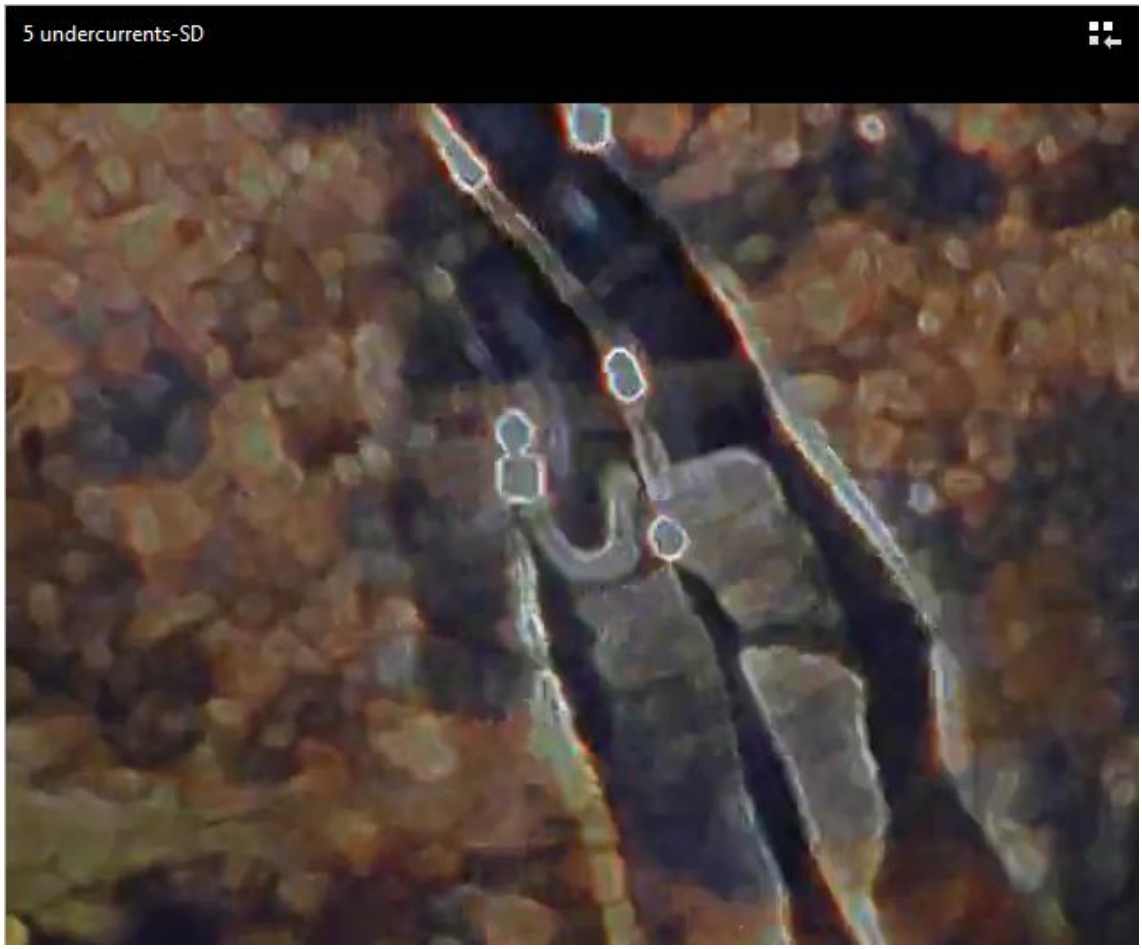
[106] See section 4.8 for a detailed discussion on the ethical approach and considerations developed through the research process.

landscape this can also result in tensions between different stakeholders due to different opinions and values on how the landscape should be managed. Negotiating between these differences is a challenge facing landscape managers. This chapter has explored perceived barriers to greater participation from an individual to organisational level, including apathy with the process, powerlessness, working within organisational contexts, (economic) sustainability and land ownership issues. Those directly involved with management have witnessed and experienced the tensions around community engagement and participation in practice. Part of these barriers is the perception within landscape management policy that community is a homogenous entity (Taylor Aiken 2014). Furthermore 'community' is often used rather unproblematically within policy as a means of empowering and mobilising people around a particular issue (Staeheli 2008; Taylor Aiken 2014). This chapter has demonstrated that 'community', in practice, is highly diverse with different values and agendas to negotiate between.

Related to this is the notion of power and where it is perceived to lie within the management process. This is inter-linked with past and present ownership patterns that have contributed to the appearance and experience of landscapes (Lorimer 2000). The ownership of land is considered to be a key barrier to the incorporation of multiple stakeholders as those who do not own the land cannot decide how it is managed. Even within community ownership it has been argued by some participants that they are dominated by incomers who have the time and money to be able to volunteer with these groups. This social group, it was argued, had a predominantly conservationist agenda that compounds the 'institutional conservation's static and abstract view of nature as "ecology" or "heritage" … lack[ing] any resonance with the sense of place and relationship to nature that is inextricably bound up with the social interaction, identities, and practices of Highland culture,' (Toogood 2003: 163-164).

This chapter has demonstrated, alongside the previous three, that there is a diversity of values and insights that has been generated from this research approach. The challenge then becomes how to show this diversity of values clearly to policy-makers and landscape managers in a way that is both helpful and provide a more nuanced framing of management practices. Consequently, creating spaces in which people feel comfortable to express their thoughts and feelings might potentially allow for more constructive discussions to take place. This is particularly pertinent when discussing potentially more emotionally contentious and political landscape issues. Ethics should be considered, however, in terms of how these events are organised and conducted

alongside an awareness of how to capture different stakeholder groups. The focus of this research was in exploring the potential of a ‘more-than-visual’ methodology to capture cultural values of landscape and the potential they had for engaging with multiple stakeholders. As stated in the methods chapter it was not the intention to come up with solutions to landscape management issues. This section has demonstrated, however, that they do go some way to highlight the more embodied, emotional and interwoven relationship between people and landscape that help to shape how it is then experienced and in turn valued.



Please play the video entitled ‘5 Undercurrents’, a video provided by a participant of Assynt

9 Discussion and conclusions

9.1 Introduction: exploring Highland landscapes

The thesis began with a quotation from Lorimer and Wylie (2010) stating that 'starting is never easy'. Now at the end of the thesis coming to an end can be just as difficult. Like a walk, reaching the end, your eyes and other bodily senses have taken in all of the landscape around you. You are filled with ideas and thoughts that have emerged through being outside. Physically your body is feeling the movement of the walk; your feet have the memory of the terrain and topography they have just walked upon. There is still, however, one stretch of the walk left to do. This chapter is the final stretch of the thesis.

Chapter 1 began by setting out the current discourses within landscape policy at a Scottish and European level that have emphasised the role of culture within landscape management and the desire for greater stakeholder engagement and participation within the management process. It identified that there is a gap between policy discourse and landscape management practice in relation to this shift (Blake 1999; Butler & Åkerskog 2014; Caspersen 2009; Conrad *et al.* 2011; Jones 2007; Macnaughten & Jacobs 1997; Olwig 2007; Sevenant & Antrop 2010). It also highlighted the parallels between policy and conceptual discussions around 'landscape' within academic research. Academic literature within cultural geography (as well as anthropology and sociology) has seen a growing awareness and discussion of embodied ways of knowing. Likewise there have been calls for the greater awareness of the role of emotion and memories, critiquing the landscape as a more fluid concept (Anderson & Smith 2001; Davidson & Milligan 2004; Jones 2011a; 2005; J. Lorimer 2006; Trudgill 2008). In particular for this research, the calls for the incorporation of cultural values and greater stakeholder engagement and participation throughout the research process lack the tools through which to undertake this in practice. There has, however, been an emergence of more performative and creative methodologies within academia.

This research aimed to explore the multiple ways in which people valued landscapes within two case studies within the Highlands of Scotland. This was then used to explore the potential of incorporating cultural values and the insights and challenges this may introduce to landscape management. The role of the methodology was central to exploring the main aim and three objectives of the research. A 'more-than-visual', semi-

participatory methodology was developed, incorporating walking interviews, arts-based methods, key informant interviews and feedback events. The 'doing' of the research – and being reflexive and reflective through this process – was consequently as valuable to the research as the content discussed. This final chapter draws together the threads of the analysis chapters. It begins by exploring the potential and challenges of adopting cultural values for landscape management (section 9.2). The wider implications of the research are then discussed with a particular focus on the methodology and methods used for the research, including providing pointers to a 'toolkit' for their use in landscape management (section 9.3). The chapter ends by identifying future research areas (section 9.4) and provides a final reflection (section 9.5).

9.2 Impacts of cultural values for landscape management

The analysis chapters (chapters 5-8) highlighted the breadth and depth the research was able to achieve due to the methodological approach adopted. A key outcome from the analysis is the need for more fluid conceptualisations of 'landscape', 'nature', 'culture' and 'community'. There are a growing number of examples within academic research of this approach being adopted (Cloke & Jones 2001; Jones 2005; Jones & Garde-Hansen 2012; Lorimer & Wylie 2010; Merriman *et al.* 2008; Selman *et al.* 2010; Wylie 2003; Wylie 2002). There is, however, a lack of this being translated within landscape management where greater value is placed on a more 'rational' approach as opposed to engaging with 'more-than-visual' and, in particular, emotional and embodied responses and encounters with landscapes (Stenseke & Jones 2006). It can be these unacknowledged emotions and culturally embedded norms of what 'landscapes' should be that can uncritically inform management practices (Lorimer 2000; Toogood 2003). This section examines the key themes from the research, beginning by exploring how a 'more-than-visual' approach can help to examine the concept of 'landscape' and so help to inform landscape management (section 9.2.1). This is then followed by a discussion of the potential of a more 'hybrid' approach to 'nature' and 'culture' in relation to landscape management (section 9.2.2).

9.2.1 The role of 'more-than-visual' encounters in exploring 'landscape' and landscape management

The thesis began by outlining the 'tensions' of 'landscape' as discussed by MacDonald (2002), Macdonald (2008), Rose & Wylie (2006) and Wylie (2007). This research to an extent confirmed that these tensions are experienced and encountered by participants,

particularly in relation to the tension between nature/culture and culture/spectacle (discussed further in section 9.2.2). Yet these were not articulated as tensions by the participants, instead these tensions were what composed an overall experience of 'landscape'. This included, for example, the multiple scales in which participants discussed the landscape, being both a broader scene that is looked upon, but also one that was felt both through the body and emotionally more immediately around them.

Landscape was discussed by participants in three broad ways; visually, in an embodied way and emotionally. 'Landscape' and encounters with them were often highly individual and embedded within personal histories as well as in broader shared 'cultural' histories. Considering the concept of 'landscape' from a 'more-than-visual' and experiential approach emphasises a spatial relationship between people and landscape composed of past, present and future spatial experiences (Jones & Garde-Hansen 2012). Davidson & Milligan (2004: 523) argue we need to 'take emotion seriously—since there is little we do with our bodies that we can think apart from feeling.' This research would argue that in taking emotion seriously there is also a need to take memory seriously, to understand how past experiences can help to shape present and future experiences with landscape, as argued by Jones and Garde-Hansen (2012: 11):

> 'Memory (of one kind or another) is then a fundamental (geographic) aspect of becoming, intimately entwined with space, affect, emotion, imagination and identity.'

Taking a 'more-than-visual' embodied approach to exploring landscape focuses more on the 'sensuous capacities of the body', through smell, sound, taste, touch, as well as the visual, which is, as argued by this research and others, an embodied sense, despite critiques about the tension of embodied immersion and detached observation (Ingold 2006; 2005). In this way it was possible to 'diminish the cognitive and metaphorical privilege accorded to sight' within academic inquiry (Whatmore, 2002: 33, see also Bakker and Bridge 2006). The visual encounter and experience of landscape, however, should not be underestimated but rather entangled within a more holistic bodily response.

The adoption of 'dwelling' as a conceptual lens through which to approach the data from the participants highlights these more complex inter-relations between the human and non-human actants. Lorimer (2006: 515) argues that 'landscape' can become

‘reanimated by intimacy in conduct and encounter.’ This thesis has told a number of new and remembered encounters with the landscapes of the case study areas by the participants. It is these repeated encounters that can turn landscape from being something that is static and abstract to being something that is always in a state of becoming, a place where new encounters are anticipated, and to something that is immediate and immersive. In relation to landscape management, this raises questions around what is being managed and why.

The analysis began by focussing on individual experiences of landscape, however the influence of more collective experiences – in the present – and shared or collective memories of landscapes impacted how they were then experienced. The importance of memory – both individual and collective – and examples provided of particular memories were re-told by a number of participants throughout the interviews with them. These memories, though in the past, still have an impact on the present moment (Jones 2011a). There is an emotional aspect to these memories where they then become embedded within the landscape for the participants. A landscape can thus be a point of multiple memories for different people. These memories, despite being individual, could create an emotion that resonates with other people thus making these landscapes a material representation of these individual and shared emotions. As argued by Jones (2011b: 2301) ‘we live in rich temporal ecologies of ecosocial relations’, thus creating fluid spaces within which multiple temporalities inform experiences.

Figure 9-1 is a model showing the influence of a ‘more-than-visual’ and embodied approach to ‘landscape’ and how this could be used to inform landscape management. Much like Stephenson's (2008) ‘cultural values model’ (see Section 3.4.1) this model indicates the importance of time and embedded values that have been established to help inform and shape values that people have. In contrast though, this model takes a very individual approach to visualising landscape encounters and experiences and how our experiences in the present can be informed by our past encounters, alongside shared cultures and broader history (whether family, society, national and international – also see Figures 7-1 to 7-3). This research has also demonstrated that many participants expressed the importance of the material landscape itself and how the ‘non-human’ plays an equal role which informing landscape experiences. The dashed lines have been used to highlight the fluidity and relational interactions between experiences, landscape, time and culture. The model, however, does not just incorporate past and present but also potential future engagements with ‘landscape’ through landscape management.

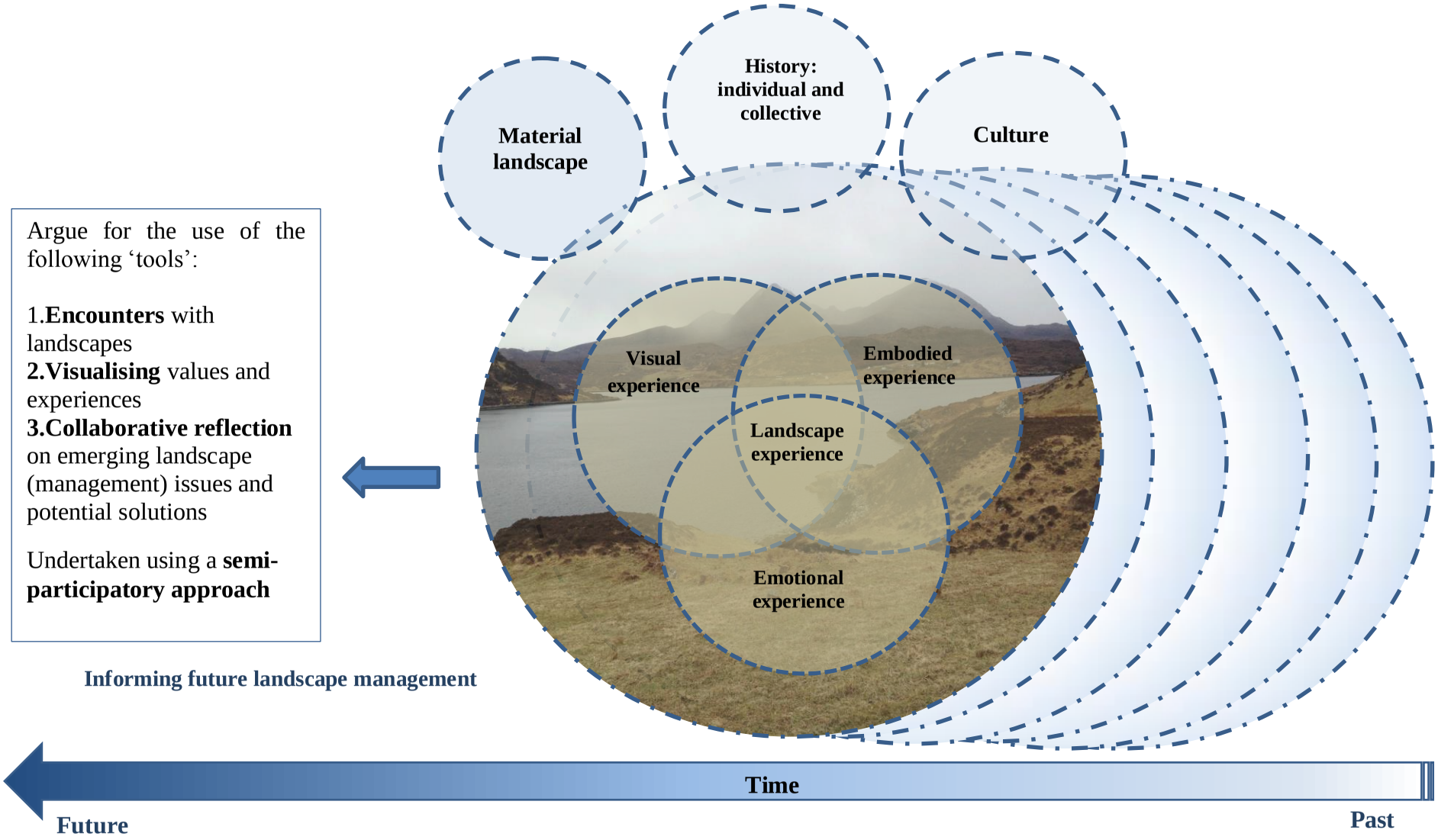


Figure 9-1: A model to visualise the potential of a 'more-than-visual' approach to landscape management, identifying the key 'tools' through which individual values can be captured and then expressed to help inform landscape management.

Here the principles of encounter, visualising and collaborative reflection have been highlighted as potential future methods for landscape managers wishing to engage with multiple stakeholders. This is explored further in section 9.3.3 in relation to how these could be operationalised by landscape management practitioners. The experiences described in this thesis are both spatialized and localised by encountering them through the landscape. Consequently landscapes and people are in a reciprocal relationship of meaning, with one helping to inform the other (Ingold 2006; 2000). It is important, however, to not forget the importance of the materiality of the landscape itself. The landscape as actor within this relationship is significant and once again challenges the conceptualisation that it is only a product of 'culture'. As identified in chapter 7 by Rosanne (local resident, Assynt) the landscape was not put there by the people but it has been and continues to be shaped by people. Consequently, the thesis argues for a more relational approach to 'landscape' and, as Wylie (2007) argues, for '*landscaping'* whereby the everyday and lived landscape are explored alongside understanding the 'spectacle' of landscapes. The following section now explores the potential of 'hybridity' as a means of engaging with the cultural values of landscape and the challenges it raises in relation to landscape management.

9.2.2 The role of a more 'hybrid' approach to 'nature' and 'culture'

When discussing local landscape management issues, participants would identify the complexity of these issues and the interlinkage of past human management of the landscape with how it has come to look and be the way that it is now (see section 7.2). In particular, participants highlighted the interconnectedness between people and landscape that underlies these management challenges. These discussions echo the calls of Whatmore (2002) for a more 'hybrid' understanding of 'nature' and 'culture'.

The research has demonstrated that 'nature' and 'culture' are not exclusive entities but are regarded as mutually informing the other. Many participants reflected on the evidence of past habitation within the landscape (including to the Bronze Age) and argued that these landscapes designated for their 'wild' qualities are in fact and have been lived (in) landscapes. The hybrid approach challenges the designation of landscapes, particularly those based on landscape appearance and aesthetics as it is a form of spatialisation that can separate people from the landscape. The relational approach to space as argued by Massey (2005) was used to challenge the static view of landscape and instead argue for a more relational, always becoming, fluid concept. The

potential of hybridity, as demonstrated in chapter 7 in relation to landscape management issues, was to demonstrate the networks and processes that influence landscape management that are beyond these designated boundaries (see also Jones (2011b).

The ‘dwelling’ and ‘taskscape’ lens adopted throughout the analysis chapters helps to transcend the ontological separation of ‘nature’ and ‘culture’ (Ingold 2000). Likewise it also allows the dynamics between the human and non-human to come to light, according both with the same agency and influence within the relationship (J. Lorimer 2006). As argued by Jones (2011c: 163):

> ‘Human and non-human life is read as an immediate yet also enduring, relational process of bodies in place and space which are mobile, sensing, engaging, responding, exchanging, making, using, remembering and knowing.’

This more relational or ‘hybrid’ approach was one that many participants articulated in relation to landscape management (chapter 7). Many expressed an understanding of the place of people within the development of the landscape but also that the landscape shaped the people within it. Such an approach to understanding values within landscape management allows cultural norms of what a landscape ‘should be’ or ‘should look like’ to be challenged. This research thus argues, as Lorimer (2000: 405) did, that through the use of ‘a specific historical situation [it is possible to] seek out messier practical relationships where the traditionally fixed realms of nature and society are no longer so clearly defined.’

The research has demonstrated a more interwoven and ‘hybrid’ relationship between people and landscape and ‘nature’ and ‘culture’. Utilising the work of Ingold (2006) and the notion of a ‘mesh-work’ between multiple processes within landscape expands a more interwoven relationship that is always in process. Much like MacPhail’s (2006) ‘carrying stream’ concept in relation to culture, the relationship between people and landscape is one that is influenced by past culture and can still be informed by this. Yet it is also being influenced by broader processes around it, ecological, social, economic and political. Consequently the ‘stream’ continues to evolve around and in response to these changing dynamics (Mackenzie 2010). There is likewise a need to consider the non-human agents within landscape research and the agency and role they play in influencing human experiences. In giving value to the non-human within the relationship it may be possible to move beyond an assumption that landscapes are a

product of human interactions and thought alone, to argue they have agency in and of themselves.

9.3 Wider implications of the research: a methodological perspective

The methodological approach was central to the research process. One of the key challenges identified in chapter 3 around landscape management policy was the need for more innovative and creative methods which would allow a more nuanced understanding of cultural values in relation to 'landscape' to be incorporated into management practices (Conrad *et al.* 2011; Jones 2007). The following section critically examines the wider implications of this research in relation to the methodological approach. It begins by critiquing the value of a 'more-than-visual' approach to landscape research (section 9.3.1). The focus then turns to the potential, limitations and challenges of participatory research within landscape management (section 9.3.2), and finally offers some reflection on the 'tools' which might be useful in addressing these issues in practice (section 9.3.3).

9.3.1 Valuing the 'more-than-visual': encounters, emotions and being 'more-than-representational'

An early and important outcome of undertaking the research was the need to be reflective of the process of *doing* the methods. Engaging with the performance of the methods, in particular the walking methods, heightened an awareness of the body and how landscape can be known not only visually but through all bodily senses. Furthermore, highlighting the notion of 'taskscape' (Ingold 2000), the importance of muscular engagement with the landscape through working and being within it allowed not only an engagement with the active present but also the knowledge of past individuals who have done the same activities. The working of the landscape likewise highlights a more future oriented perspective, particularly when engaging with discourses of productive landscapes. Furthermore it highlighted the practice of 'landscaping' (Wylie 2007), knowing through 'being-in-the-landscape' and everyday encounters and experiences within it.

The focus given to the role of emotion within the research has provided 'validity checkpoints' (Leavy 2009: 19) of the arts-based methods used as well as providing insight into a very personal way of knowing landscapes. It has been argued that 'emotion-work should certainly press harder for forms of empiricism that are lively,

tireless and scrupulous, *and* it should continue to ask searching questions of our persistent urge to divine fixed meaning from the midst of things' (Lorimer 2005: 91, original emphasis). This research is part of a growing call for emotions to be incorporated within research and within policy. This research has demonstrated the multiple interactions of spatialities between mind, body and landscapes. Both landscapes and people are thus constantly being reworked and relationships renegotiated. The potential of this methodological approach to provide greater insights in to the experiential encounters with landscapes of the everyday can continue to be explored.

This research has demonstrated the highly emotional responses that the landscapes within these two case study areas can provoke. How landscapes are managed is therefore not an emotion-free or objective process when discussing it with multiple stakeholders, including those from institutional organisations (Brace & Geoghegan 2010; Selman & Swanwick 2010; Trudgill 2008). Ethical considerations when conducting more creative methodologies through a participative approach, however, must be a continuous process (Manzo & Brightbill 2007) due to the emotionally and politically sensitive issues – particularly in a Highland Scotland context – that emerge.

9.3.2 The potential and challenges of participatory research within landscape management

Cresswell asks, in Merriman *et al.* (2008: 195), '[h]ow [do] new ideas of practice, the non-representational and affect to make connections between people and talk about a sense of collective identity, or intervene in relations of power?' A similar question is raised in the extent to which this research can utilise the conceptual discussion around landscape and landscaping to assist landscape policy makers and landscape managers who wish to explore cultural values of landscape. Likewise we might ask how greater stakeholder engagement is achieved when cultural values are explored due to the greater diversity and complexity of values that may be highlighted – as was highlighted in this research.

This research has challenged the way in which 'community' is all too often unproblematically mobilised in policy terms, including in things such as 'community ownership' and 'community engagement'. Tensions between different stakeholder groups, whether they are locally based or not, are often informed by an 'insider' and

'outsider' mentality. As argued by Staeheli (2008), this research has also demonstrated that despite participation aiming to be inclusive in its approach, inherent within this is the potential to exclude those that do not have the same beliefs and values as the dominant group. This research has clearly demonstrated a diversity of values and insights articulated by the participants. Perhaps through showing this diversity – clearly – to policy-makers might lead to a more nuanced framing of landscape management practices and an awareness of how community engagement is undertaken. There have been a number of examples of research looking into the impacts of ownership in relation to the resilience of the local community, for example in relation to community ownership see Skerratt (2013) and Warren & McKee (2011) and in relation to private estates see Woolvin (2013) and Glass *et al.* (2013a). Collectively these reports highlight the changing dynamics between land owners and the local communities. This research is adding to this discussion around the potential of more participative approaches and identifying the potential barriers to this through acknowledging broader issues of social dynamics, power, ownership and representation.

The research set out to provide insights into peoples' relationships and encounters with landscapes. Through exploring an embodied methodology, it was hoped that this could then be translated effectively to help inform landscape management. This has been – to an extent – the greatest challenge for this research, to translate in-depth, qualitative research into something that might potentially provide practicable advice for landscape managers. Part of achieving this was the feedback events. They were conducted after the initial analysis of the data collected. This was in part to fulfil the semi-participatory approach being adopted to allow participants to be part of a co-constructive process to understand the meaning of the data collected (Kindon *et al.* 2007). A number of barriers to stakeholder engagement were, however, identified in this research; i) the extent to which people felt they were being heard; ii) disillusionment and the perceived lack of influence participants felt they had to effect change; iii) the right people felt they had to be involved with management decisions and iv) disinterest in wanting to be involved. The first three of these factors, particularly, were related to notions of 'power' and 'ownership' of the land.

Despite these challenges, this research has highlighted the potential of 'more-than-visual' methodologies to engage with multiple stakeholders. Though some participants did not wish to attend the more public feedback events, it can be argued that their voices were still heard through taking part in a walking interview which was then used to form

the display and inform the analysis. The landscape partnership scheme in Assynt (CALL) showed interest in the methods used for the research and the potential they may have for future projects of the group to encourage greater community engagement and participation. There was therefore, an interest not only in the individual participants but within the organisations for more creative methodologies.

9.3.3 A 'more-than-visual' toolkit

This research draws out 3 key principle tools for landscape managers to engage with multiple stakeholders as part of a more participative landscape management process, 'tools of encounter', 'tools of visualisation' and 'tools of collaborative reflection' (see also Figure 9-1[107]). This section outlines these tools, providing a critical reflection in relation to this research and some guidance if these tools are adopted by landscape managers. Furthermore, it outlines the potential for adopting a semi-participative approach to undertaking these tools, providing lessons learnt and guidance for landscape managers.

1. **Tools of 'encounter'**

This research primarily focussed on walking as a means of engaging with both participants and landscapes. Within Applecross and Assynt walking was a common everyday practice for many of the participants which allowed participants to give me the time to take part in the research as this was something that they would already be doing. 'Encounters' however do not need to be restricted to walking. Within this research some interviews took place by sitting outside, looking at the view and listening to the sounds of the landscape. Similarly 'encounters' with landscape could also be non-leisure, such as working on a boat (as experienced in this research) or working on a croft/farm. These are all equally valuable forms of encounter with the landscape and allows for potentially more people to get involved if they have health and/or time constraints.

Participants were provided with information about the project beforehand (see Appendix 3), and given a level of guidance and understanding about the project. The guidance about the interview was open rather than prescriptive (Clarke & Emmel 2010:4) to allow participants to engage with the landscape and what 'landscape' meant to them. Practically, participants were given the freedom to choose the route of the

[107] See chapter 4 for a full methodological discussion on how the methods were undertaken and why they were chosen.

walk, the length of the walk and to show me particular features. This gave the participants the opportunity to show me *their* landscapes. The length of time of the walks varied but on average lasted for two-three hours. Walks that were shorter than this or included a group of participants still provided valuable and the same richness as those that lasted longer or only one participant.

Practical principles for landscape managers in undertaking 'tools of encounter' based on this research are:

- To be as inclusionary as possible by allowing a wide range of encounters, from walking to sitting and from leisure activities to working practices.
- To be flexible, provide guidance for potential participants about what the interview may involve but remain open to suggestions and approaches from them.
- The use of a digital Dictaphone with a microphone attachment and wind guard that can be attached to the participants' coat or piece of clothing. This kept the microphone out of the way of participants but close enough to hear what was said. It also made participants feel more relaxed.
- Make notes on more contextual information of the walk – the weather, how participants moved through the landscape, noises heard – after the encounter.

2. Tools of 'visualising'

These can include arts-based methods such as those used in this research – photography, painting, creative writing – or other creative methods such as music or mapping tools. The aim of these tools is to encourage participants to articulate and express their values, understandings and experiences of 'landscape' in a more visual and creative way. Similar to the 'tools of encounter' above the creative method adopted does not need to be restricted to purely 'visual' methods but incorporate other sensory elements such as sound or smell.

Some participants were reluctant and/or nervous about the arts-based methods. The primary reason for this was a feeling that they would not be able to express themselves fully. Giving participants the freedom to talk through what they would wish to articulate in some cases overcame this issue. In other cases making this a more collaborative process gave some participants greater confidence to participate with this method.

Practical principles for landscape managers in undertaking ‘tools of visualisation’ based on this research are:

- To be flexible and inclusive by allowing participants to choose a creative practice that they feel most comfortable with.
- Choose creative practices that the researcher is comfortable with as this may allow for more collaborative approaches between the researcher and participant.
- If participants do not wish to take part in the more creative methods discussing other ‘creative’ work can be a means of engaging with more visual and creative methods.
- Ask participants what they have done and why. This involves participants within the analysis process and may reduce researcher bias.

3. Tools of ‘collaborative reflection’

This research intended to create spaces through the feedback events with a display and presentation. The aim of this was to encourage the attendees to this event (a mix of research participants and people who were not involved previously) to engage with the issues raised during the research – presented anonymously – and where attendees felt they could contribute to discussions freely.

Landscape can be a very emotive topic. An understanding of the dynamics and underlying tensions that may exist within the area within which the engagement is taking place and being able to respond to this can help to facilitate and negotiate between different stakeholders. As this research and others have demonstrated, a ‘local community’ is rarely a homogenous entity. Local landscape managers were aware of this (see section 8.2.2) yet they felt restricted by landscape policy already in place and institutional constraints that they must work within (see sections 8.2.3 and 8.2.4). A certain level of independence, openness and trust are key elements for conducting research in relation to land, landscape and landscape management.

Practical principles for landscape managers in undertaking ‘tools of collaborative reflection’ based on this research are:

- Ask participants of the research advice on where to hold events and workshops as this may encourage more people to attend.

- There is a need to be open about the aims of the research and what it could potentially achieve.
- Developing trust between the researcher and participants is crucial to allow participants to feel comfortable to discuss what they feel to be key issues. Being independent of local organisations (and the area more broadly) can also help this to reduce the potential of anxiety for participants around negative feedback of what they discuss.
- Gain an understanding of the dynamics and power relations of the area and where potential tensions may lie to help facilitate discussions. This could be achieved by spending longer periods of time within the area(s) where the research is taking place and help to establish good working relationships.
- Anonymity and confidentiality is difficult in small communities, however, through anonymising what participants have said helps to foster a more constructive atmosphere when potentially controversial or sensitive issues come to be discussed.

4. Taking a semi-participative approach

Taking a 'semi-participative' approach to the research process allows for research to have a more deliberative framework but also provides the freedom within which participants can engage with and help to shape the research as it is implemented. The ethical approach of this research was based on Manzo and Brightbill's (2007) more participative approach, emphasising being reflective and reflexive throughout the research process. It is important to recognise the positionality of the researcher and the influence they have on the research process and responding to this if necessary. This challenges more traditional power relations within research where the researcher is seen to have more power over the research process.

Practical principles for landscape managers in undertaking a semi-participatory approach based on this research are:

- Be reflective of the researcher's role within the research and how this may influence the data that is generated.
- Be responsive and open to changing aspects of the research, such as the methods, if participants do not respond well to them.

As identified previously in section 8.4 and section 9.2.1 collectively these principles have the potential to capture individual responses to and encounters with landscapes alongside more collective values of 'landscape'. As chapter 7 identified, in particular in relation to understandings of 'nature' and 'culture', these different methods collectively have the potential to challenge personal, institutionally and culturally embedded values of how landscapes should be managed. Selman *et al.* (2010) similarly highlight the potential of more 'imaginative' engagements and methods to create more sustainable relationships between people and the environment around them as well as creating a more enjoyable experience for people to engage with management work. This toolkit could be adapted as needed by those wishing to undertake research or engagement work and poses potential future research where it is tested with landscape management organisations.

9.4 Future research

This research has been highly timely politically within Scotland. The Land Use Strategy has just completed the most recent progress statement (Scottish Government 2015a) and a second strategy is due to be published in 2016. Furthermore there have been recent calls for understanding public engagement under the new Community Empowerment and Revision Bill alongside the most recent Land Reform Bill (Scottish Government 2013; Edwards *et al.* 2015). With this in mind this section will outline the scope for future research based on the themes and issues identified.

This research has demonstrated the potential of 'more-than-visual' methodologies. This research was undertaken in two areas that were geographically and socially similar – both in the north-west Highlands of Scotland. Both are coastal and upland areas with similar geology and ecology and both have experienced changing population dynamics. The methods adopted could be used in other landscapes to explore the relationships people have in more accessible rural areas, agricultural landscapes and urban/city landscapes. This would help to fulfil the requirements of the ELC and the LUS which highlight the value of 'all landscapes' not just those that have been designated for their 'beauty'. This has the potential to identify and further understand the relationships between people and landscape and thus provide a much broader understanding of 'landscape' and why it is managed as it is.

Wild Land featured as a management issue in chapter 7 and was interlinked with many of the other management issues identified, primarily as it highlights one approach that

has been adopted in relation to ‘nature’. The re-introduction of particular species – namely, beaver, lynx, wolves and bears – were mentioned by some participants, particularly within Assynt. With re-wilding gaining greater awareness within Britain (Rewilding Britain 2015) and Europe (Rewilding Europe 2015) exploring this further in relation to the nature/culture dualism could provide further insights into the relationship between people and ‘nature’. The emotional attachment to particular species (Trudgill 2008) was touched upon but could provide further insight into cultural ‘stereotypes’ of particular wildlife, plant ecology, landscapes and the role of people within the creation of these stereotypes.

It has been made clear that this research was ‘semi-participatory’ in its approach rather than a full participatory action research project. There is the potential, therefore, to take this research further to explore the means of engaging with the issues raised in relation to landscape management. Future work could use this research as a base from which to conduct a full participatory action research project that could enable the local communities to explore the potential solutions and enact them as part of the management within the local areas. Yet as chapter 8 identified, there were a number of barriers identified to greater participation within landscape management, from personal perspectives and attitudes (section 8.2.1) to institutional perspectives (sections 8.2.2-8.2.4). This research, through its methodological approach and the relative independence of the me as a researcher, allowed me to talk to a number of people that may not necessarily have got involved with landscape management activities otherwise. Further research investigating who gets involved with landscape management and who does not and, in particular, the reasons behind this is needed if greater participation of multiple stakeholders is to be achieved in practice.

The methodology for this research was designed in such a way as to include observational and ‘shared’ methods (between participant and researcher), in particular the walking interviews and arts-based methods. As identified in section 9.3.1 these methods allowed not only the observation of the practicing of walking and ‘being-in-the-landscape’ but also for me, as a researcher, to share in this experience (Clark & Emmel 2010; Lee & Ingold 2006). This approach exposed the emotional encounters and reactions to the landscape that may not have been captured by a more traditional interview conducted indoors. Building on these ‘more-than-visual’ approaches alongside spending an extended period of time within the area of research could provide

further insight and depth to landscape research and help to build trust between the researcher and participants.

Related to the potential of the methodology above is the role of 'affect' within the research process. Implicit within this research is the role of 'affect' and 'affective landscapes' that may influence the emotional encounters and experiences participants expressed with(in) landscapes. The focus of this research was on how participants expressed their experiences and understandings of landscape. These experiences were primarily articulated as emotions and so it was emotion that was given more explicit engagement within the thesis. Thien (2005:453) cautions that the increasing focus on affect within some research is part of a broader 'move to get after or beyond humanity in all our diversity … [which] pushes us past the emotional landscapes of daily life.' Consequently, within research that wishes to engage with how people are expressing their experiences with landscapes emotions was more useful and reflective of participants' experiences. This is not to undervalue the potential of 'affect' as a means of engaging with 'landscape', however, as it is gaining increasing prevalence within social science research (Lorimer 2008; Thrift 2008). Chapter 6 articulated multiple bodily and emotional experiences with the landscape, section 6.3 began with a quotation by Lorraine (visitor, Applecross) who described having a feeling of the atmosphere which she found hard to describe. These embodied and immersive experiences were used to highlight a more interconnected relationship between people and landscape. Both Lorimer (2008) and Thrift (2008: 175) highlight how affect can be unbounded from emotion and instead a notion of 'broad tendencies and lines of force' where bodies respond and react to the environment and situation that they are in. Emotion therefore can be considered more of a human construct of language. Citing the work of Laurier & Philo (2006), Lorimer (2008: 555) highlights that further investigative inquiry into the role of affect to explore experiences suggests there is the potential for something further to be found 'during commonplace episodes of language-in-use, direct observation of practical encounters and closest consideration of empirical matters'. Affect could thus provide greater depth into the non-human and more hybrid relationships between people and landscape. There is still the challenge of representation, however, and how these unbounded 'lines of force' are articulated. There is the potential for 'affect' to challenge and explore how people respond to landscape and landscape management. If affect is used in relation to landscape

management research, as with this research, there is a challenge around how 'affect' can be utilised in a way that is both meaningful and practicable for landscape managers.

9.5 A final reflection

I would like to end this chapter, and the thesis with a final reflection on the research as a whole. This research has been a very personal journey. I feel privileged to have shared the landscapes of Applecross and Assynt with the people who took part in the research and shared their memories, their lives and their landscapes. The insights into different ways of knowing the landscape has challenged my own reactions, encounters and experiences with landscapes, particularly the Highlands of Scotland. As past walks have influenced and informed how I approach landscapes, so too this research will inform future research practices.

As discussed in section 4.9.1, my own position as a geographer-artist has been challenged by viewing landscapes with knowledge of participants' individual emotional reactions. Viewing the landscape is no longer just about what is aesthetically pleasing but I find more that I wish to convey emotion, fluidity and experiences of landscape when I paint a landscape. Furthermore, there is an opportunity to bring a focus to other elemental and changing qualities within the landscape – such as water and weather – to highlight a broader and embodied visual landscape as discussed in section 5.5. The 'more-than-visual' approach has challenged the way that I look at the landscape and made me more aware of how I am within it. The following final verse from the poem 'Landscape outside and in' by Norman MacCaig, (1981 see McCaig (2005: 412)) illustrates this:

We've left behind the bluebells
and the water. But all my selves
are still singing. They make no sound
but you hear their every note.

I imagine returning from a walk, my legs are physically tired but I feel a certain sense of satisfaction. I sit down and take the weight off my feet and then take my walking boots off. I take a couple of steps. For me, this is the best feeling; my feet are free, air is reaching them after being in walking boots for several hours and I feel like they are finally feeling the ground beneath them properly. Reaching the end of the thesis has had a similar effect.

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Appendix 1: Interview schedule

The following interview schedule was developed prior to starting the fieldwork. In the initial stages of the fieldwork I read the interview guide before going out on a walk to remember the key points to raise about doing the walking interview and prompts for questions. As discussed in chapter 4 the more interviews that were completed the less I used the guide to allow participants to guide what we discussed as much as possible and to allow the landscapes we were walking in to provide the prompts and catalysts.

Walking and 'more-than-visual' interview guide

(Adapted from Clark and Emmel, 2010)

Introduction to research and walking interview method

The aim of the research is to begin to understand how you value the landscapes around you. I want to look at how people experience the landscapes around them and how they may begin to express those values. There are two elements to this, the first is the being in the landscapes and the second is to use photographs, sketches, painting, creative writing to begin to articulate these experiences. It is up to you where we go and we can go to where ever you would like to show me and take whichever route you think would be best, however, we can only go on foot[108] at this stage.

Questions to prompt discussions

As we walk around I would like you to think about what the landscapes mean to you, what do you like about the landscape, what do you dislike, what are your favourite places, what memories do they bring up?

Gaining consent and how the walk will be recorded

Your participation in the research is completely voluntary so at this point would you still like to go ahead?

If no, thank them for listening.

[108] Option will be given if interest is shown to take part but would prefer not to walk.

If yes continue. I have brought a recorder with me to record what we talk about during the walk, do you have any objections for the walk to be recorded?

Participant led exercise

The emphasis within this research is to allow you to decide the route and which way you think is best, I am interested in your whole experience of being in these landscapes as well as actually seeing them. There may be times during the walk that I ask questions about where we are going, and seek clarification about certain aspects that you discuss but I am keen for you to discuss what you want and your own ideas.

Similarly I have brought a camera and some paper therefore at anytime during the walk you can stop and take pictures or sketch different aspects of the landscape. I will then ask you to describe what you have done and why. My reasons for asking you about the image is to allow you to tell me what you are showing rather than me interpreting it in a different way than you imagined it.

Timing

The exercise can last for as long or as short as you like. Depending on circumstances or how you feel we can continue with the exercise until you feel you have come to a conclusion or if you have to leave part way through we can postpone it to another convenient time or we can finish. As I've said your participation in the research is entirely voluntary and so you can leave at any time without question.

Are you still happy to continue? Do you want to ask me any questions before we get started? You can of course ask me questions as we go along.

Post interview

What did you think about the methods for the research? Is there any aspect you think could have been better? Is there anything you would rather have not shown or told me? Is there anything you would rather not have included in the recording? If yes to either of the last question would you prefer if I did not use them in my research?

If you would like to spend more time creating some form of images, writing, etc. in relation to your experiences of the landscapes around you after completing the walk then please do and if you would like me to use it in the research then please do contact me.

Finally, I intend to do some form of follow up to begin to show the themes emerging through the research based on the findings from the walks and the images produced and to see how these could be incorporated within some form of management strategy. Would you like to be kept informed of when this will take place? Would you be happy for your images to be used/displayed if they are suitably anonymised?

Thank you very much for taking part in the research.

Appendix 2: Poster for feedback events

Appendix 3: Information leaflet

On the following pages is an example of an information leaflet provided to research participants in Applecross. There was a nearly identical leaflet produced in Assynt which included an image of the Assynt area rather than a local Applecross image shown in this example.

If you DO want to take part in the project…

Firstly, thank you very much!

Secondly, could you please fill in the informed consent slip which I will then keep.

Questions and further information:

Please feel free to ask any questions at any time directly to:

Amy Holden: Geography, School of the Environment, University of Dundee, Perth Road, Dundee, DD1 4HN, email: a.e.holden@dundee.ac.uk or phone: 01382 384 286

Or alternatively you may wish to contact my supervisor:

Dr Fiona Smith: Geography, School of the Environment, University of Dundee, Perth Road, Dundee, DD1 4HN, email: f.m.smith@dundee.ac.uk or phone: 01382 384 424

Finally thank you for taking the time to read the leaflet.

Exploring landscape values

Information and consent form

My name is Amy Holden and I am a research student at the University of Dundee. I am currently undertaking research to explore how people experience the landscapes around them and how this may help to inform the management of landscapes.

The research that I am asking you to take part in is explained overleaf and this information sheet should answer any questions you may have and is yours to keep. If you have questions when I am no longer in the area I have provided contact details on the back of the leaflet for you to contact me on.

What the project is about

I would like to talk to you about how you experience the landscapes around you – what do you normally do, what you might like about them, what you might dislike, what do they mean to you, do they mean anything to you ...?

The most important thing is to hear what you think.

The research will not be conducted as you might have been expecting. I would like to conduct interviews whilst walking through the landscapes that mean something to you, therefore you will have much more control over where we go and what you want to tell me and this will hopefully make it a bit more interesting. If walking would not be suitable then I am happy to discuss alternatives that you may have to spend some time in the landscape.

Alongside this I am also asking people to create some form of 'creative' representation of the landscapes whether it be a photograph, sketch, painting, poem or music and then to discuss it with me. Again it is up to you how you would like to do this and you do not need to have any prior training or be a professional at any of these activities to take part in this aspect of the research. Wherever possible, I will provide any material you may want to use.

Why I am doing this project

We hear many people talking about how to value the landscapes around us but I want to approach this idea of value by exploring how people experience the landscapes around them. There are forms of decision making about landscapes that try to place values on the landscape but there have also been a number of studies that indicate that it is often very difficult to grasp how people value landscapes.

Anything you tell me will be kept private!

Interviews will be recorded, this is purely for the purposes of analysis and will only be accessed by myself and will not be passed on to a third party. No individual participant will be identified in the final report with pseudonyms used and as far as possible specific detail will be anonymised to protect your identity. This will be the same with any other publications that may result from the research.

If you do not wish to be recorded but would still like to take part in the research then I can take written notes instead.

You will be asked specifically if you are happy for any artwork that you have created to be used firstly in the research but also in the future in more public events. Any future use of the artwork I will ask for your permission specifically at a later date.

What are the good things about taking part?

I hope this will be something interesting and fun. We will go for a walk around different landscapes of your choice and talk about different aspects of the landscape. You will get to tell me what you like about landscapes, what you get from them, and any values, opinions even memories that you might have about the landscapes around you.

I will also be talking to others within the area but also from other places, so you will not be the only one.

What might be the bad things about taking part?

I hope you will enjoy taking part in the research and maybe you will learn something from it. I hope you will think it is fun and a good experience!

Appendix 4: Informed consent form

The following is the informed consent form that was included within the information leaflet provided to the research participants.

Please tick the appropriate box to indicate that you consent to participate in the study:

	Yes	No
I have read and understood the information sheet		
I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary		
I understand that I may stop at any time without explanation		
I agree to take part in this study		

Name of participant

……

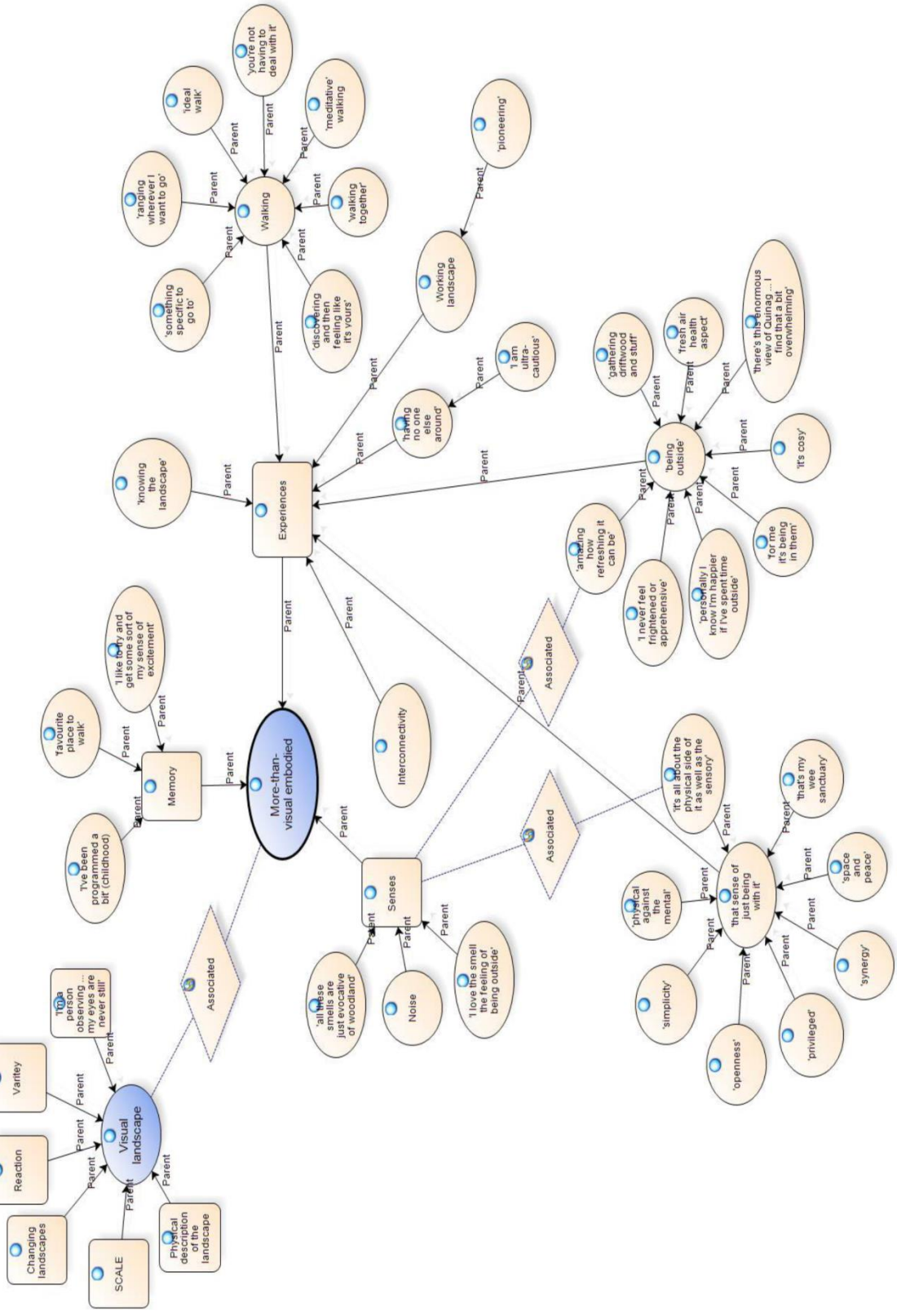
Signature of participant

……

Date ……

Appendix 5: Example of analysis coding tree

On the following page is a visualisation of the coding undertaken as part of the research. The example here is for the code ‘more-than-visual embodied’. From this central node are the descending layers of codes. Included are ‘associative’ relationships between different codes that are separated but could be coded under both ‘parent’ nodes. It also shows the associated relationship between the ‘more-than-visual embodied’ code and ‘visual landscape’ code. This reflects Wylie’s (2007) tension of observation and habitation but through the analysis it became apparent that they were more interlinked as opposed to strictly being in tension.

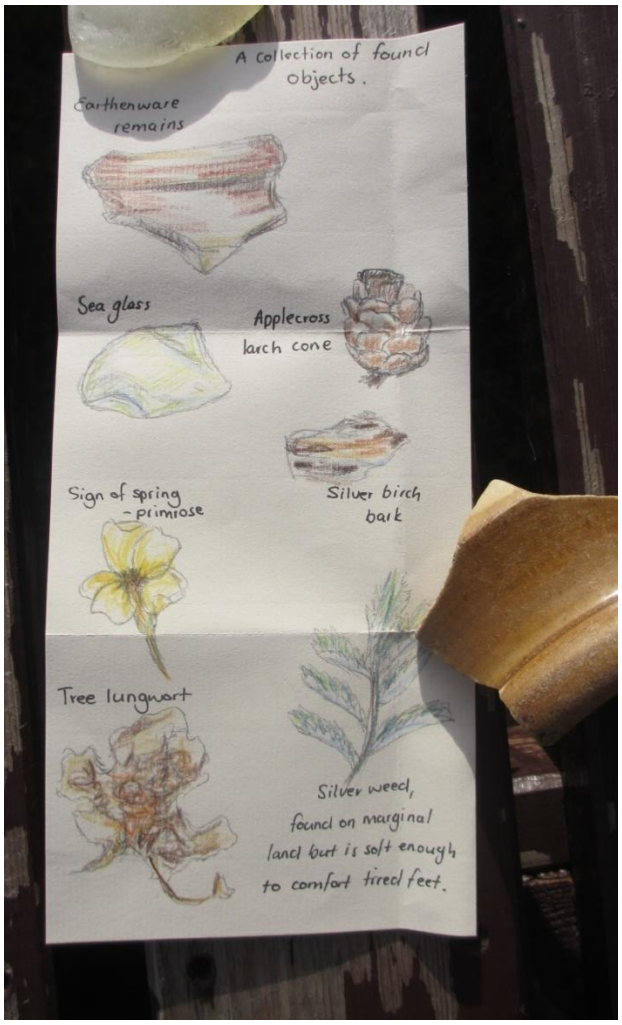

Visual landscape
Variety
Reaction
Changing landscapes
SCALE
Physical description of the landscape
'I'm a person observing ... my eyes are never still'
Associated
More-than-visual embodied
Memory
'I've been programmed a bit' (childhood)
'favourite place to walk'
'I like to try and get some sort of my sense of excitement'
Experiences
'knowing the landscape'
Walking
'ranging wherever I want to go'
'ideal walk'
'you're not having to deal with it'
'meditative' walking
'walking together'
'something specific to go to'
'discovering and then feeling like it's yours'
Working landscape
'pioneering'
'having no one else around'
'I am ultra-cautious'
Interconnectivity
Senses
'all these smells are just evocative of woodland'
Noise
'I love the smell the feeling of being outside'
Associated
Associated
'being outside'
'gathering driftwood and stuff'
'fresh air' health aspect'
'there's this enormous view of Quinag ... I find that a bit overwhelming'
'it's cosy'
'for me it's being in them'
'personally I know I'm happier if I've spent time outside'
'I never feel frightened or apprehensive'
'amazing how refreshing it can be'
'that sense of just being with it'
'it's all about the physical side of it as well as the sensory'
'that's my wee sanctuary'
'space and peace'
'synergy'
'privileged'
'openness'
'simplicity'
'physical against the mental'
Parent

Appendix 6: ‘A collection’

Below are images of the contents from a collection box of found objects from Applecross and Assynt. As the thesis will be kept electronically these images are here to provide the reader with an impression of the boxes.

The wooden boxes were provided for the examiners who were encouraged to pick up the objects inside. The dimensions of the box were 11cm x 11cm x 6cm with a magnetic fasten. A hand drawn guide by the author (see images on the following page) of the objects was provided inside the box. The images on the following page show the contents inside one of the boxes. All the boxes contained slightly different found objects though the aim was to include objects that reflected the experiences within the case study areas. Within the box shown here the objects were; remains of an earthenware pot found on a pebble beach, sea glass, Applecross larch cone, primrose, silver birch bark, tree lungwort, silverweed. The majority of the objects were found on the ground or if picked were commonly found plants and in abundance.


What's inside the box?
Please pick up & feel the objects in the box & share in the landscapes of Applecross & Assynt... some are more delicate than others.

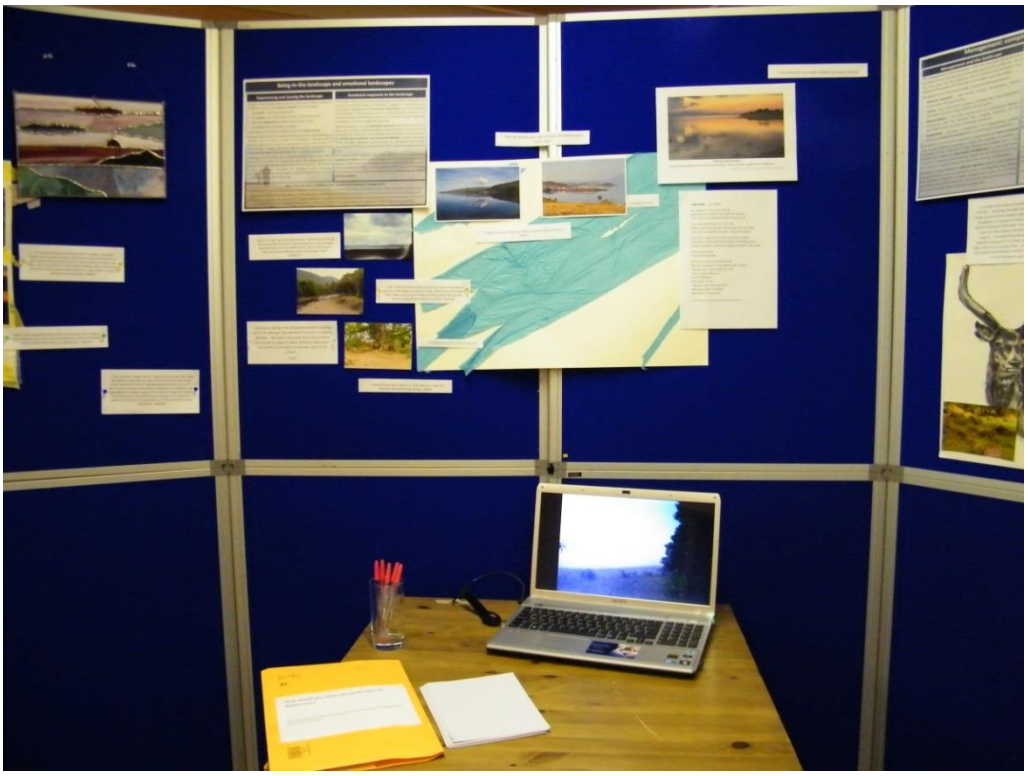

A collection of found objects.
Earthenware remains
Sea glass
Applecross larch cone
Sign of spring - primrose
Silver birch bark
Tree lungwort
Silver weed, found on marginal land but is soft enough to comfort tired feet.

Appendix 7: The feedback display

The following images are close ups of the different themes highlighted for the feedback display from the Applecross event.

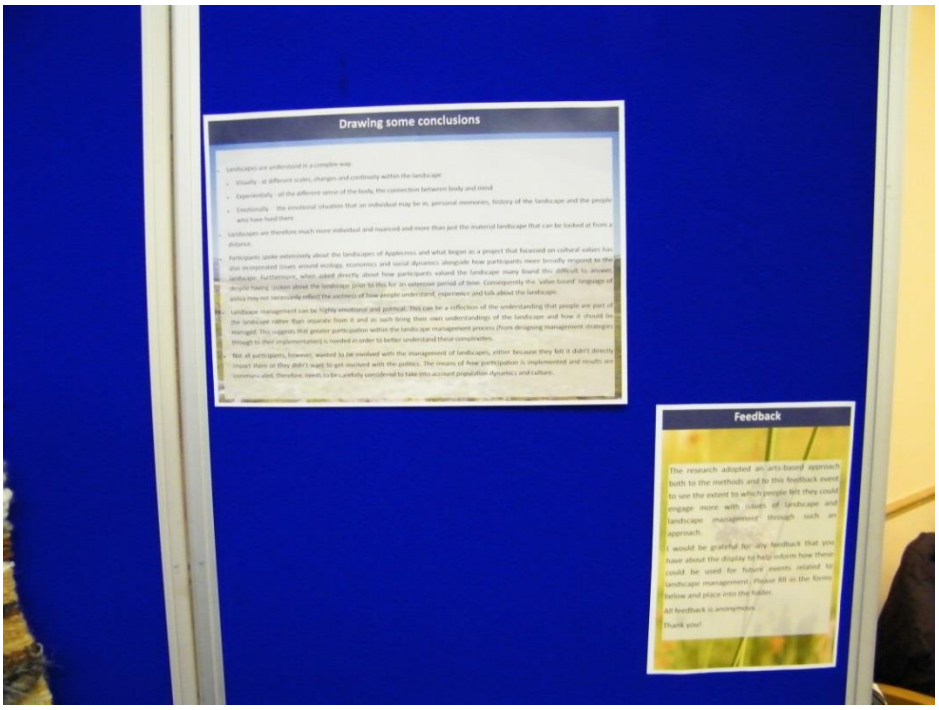
The display began with an introduction to the study, including the research aim, objectives, who was asked to take part in the research and the methods. The second poster outlined the policy background to the research and the identified gaps between policy and practice. The purpose of these posters was to provide context to the research and to position these events as a means of gaining feedback about the research methods and critically explore their potential to inform future landscape management.

Next followed the ‘analysis’ sections. It began with a focus on the visual landscape and how they were described by participants and then the embodied and experiential understandings of landscape. These introduced the ‘more-than-visual’ approach to landscape. Art-works, quotations, stories and videos were used to help illustrate the main themes.



The management section perhaps looked the most complex. This was to show the diversity of issues and aimed to use the visual material as far as possible to show these. Again quotations were used to supplement the visual material.

The final stage of the display was the conclusions and request for further feedback. The conclusions drew together the main threads of the display and how they all interlinked to provide a deeper and broader understanding of the participants experiences, encounters and values of ‘landscape’.



Appendix 8: Feedback form

Feedback form for 'Exploring landscape values in Assynt'

How useful did you find the display as a way of thinking about landscapes?

How useful did you find the display as a way of thinking about landscape management?

What aspects did you like about the display?

In what ways do you think it could be improved?

Would you consider getting involved with landscape management if a similar process was undertaken?

Any other comments?

Thank you for taking the time to fill in this form. Please leave it inside the folder.